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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A TURKISH SPY,

*Who Lived Five-and-Forty Years Undiscovered at*

P A R I S;

Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople of the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe, and discovering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts, (especially of that of France) continued from the Year 1649 to the Year 1682.

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*Written originally in Arabic, Translated into Italian, and from thence into English.*

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VOLUME FOURTH.

A NEW EDITION.

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## TO THE READER.

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EXPECT no more commendations of our Arabian author, or apologies for any thing that may seem liable to censure in his Letters. There is no end of answering the cavils of those who, to gain the character of critics, will create faults where they find none, and impute the very oversights of the press to the ignorance of the author, rather than a book shall escape free from censure.

What is wanting in the style, where it may be supposed to come short of the original, must be laid to the Italian's charge who undertook the first version of so remote a language; for the English translator has endeavoured to follow him as close as the difference of idioms will admit; and all the world knows that the English tongue is none of the most copious and significant. But if this shall seem an invidious reflection, substituted in the room of a passable excuse, the English translator, in honour both of the foreign copies and his own native language (for he is a true Englishman both by blood and affection), is willing to take the blame of all defects on himself, assuring you, that whatsoever roughness or want of elegance, whatsoever carelessness of

expression is to be found in the English translation, though it may be a fault indeed, yet it is purely owing to the candour of him who has committed it, since the chief reason of such neglect is, because he was loath the reader should lose the original sense for the sake of a sweet period or a delicate cadence.

If in other places he seems affected, as in retaining the Turkish and Arabic words, where they might as well have been rendered English, this also was out of respect to his copy, where those words are left as we may suppose they were found in the original Arabic.

This is addressed to such gentlemen as have procured the Italian copies of these Letters; for we are informed that they are in the hands of some English travellers who had a curiosity to compare the different translations together.

However, to evidence that this is not spoken in partiality to ourselves, but with equal regard to that learned foreigner who first brought these Letters to light, it will not be amiss to exhibit such probable reasons as might induce him to leave some Arabic words untranslated rather than others, though they had both the same sense.

The best method of clearing up this point will be by producing instances, such as that in Book I. Letter XIV. where the word [Visiers] is retained by the English translator, because it was not changed by the Italian. Doubtless it had been as easy to say [The Seven Chief Spirits, Angels, Chancellors, or Ministers above], as [The Seven Visiers]; but since the Italian copy has not altered the word [Visiers], the

English translator thought fit to let it stand ; and he conceives it is proper enough in both versions, because it better expresses the thought of the Turkish author than any Italian or English word can do, being a title of dignity peculiar to the Ottoman empire, where the credulous people are made to believe that their monarchy, with all its officers of state, is exactly modelled according to the pattern of the celestial court and kingdom ; therefore it appears very natural in a Turk to call the ministers of Heaven by the title of visiers, beglerbeks, bassas, or whatsoever other appellatives are used by them to express the dignity of their grandees on earth ; and who would go to spoil his sense for the sake of a word ?

Besides, not to let this passage fall without due remarks, is it not common in our bible to call God [Lord of Lords] ? And how can this be otherwise expressed in Arabic, but by the title which is appropriated to the principal governors of provinces, whom in their language they call beglerbeks ? It is equally usual in scripture to style God [King of Kings], a title frequently assumed by the eastern monarchs : Nay, in our common discourse here in England, it is customary to give to God the title of [The King of Heaven] ; and why may we not as well give to the archangels and angels, &c. the titles which are ordinarily applied to the princes and nobles on earth ? But, however, if this will not appear allowable in a Christian, yet no man can wonder at the Turk when he hears him use his native dialect speaking of the potentates above ; and if this be granted, I hope nei-

ther the Italian will be blamed for preserving the peculiar phrase of an eastern author, nor the English translator be accused for following so polite a pattern.

This instance had not been pressed so far, but in hopes that what is already said may serve as a plea for several other examples of like nature in this volume, where it is impossible for any European to express the full meaning of an Oriental author without reserving some words of his very language ; and in this the Italian translator is chiefly vindicated, from whose copy the English in such cases had no reason to swerve ; and thus much may suffice to answer all objections about the style.

As to the matter itself, it appears full of instruction, in historical, moral, and political affairs. Nor need any man wonder if he encounter some passages which may be found in other writers, both Gentile and Christian, since the author of these letters professes that he has taken much pains to peruse the treatises of the ancients, both whilst he studied in the academies, and during his residence at Paris ; he often frequented the libraries in that city, whereof there is no scarcity : He spent a great deal of time in reading modern as well as ancient authors, by which means he not only improved his knowledge in the universal history of former times, but grew familiar with the most remarkable occurrences in Europe during these later centuries ; so that in some of his letters one would swear he had read Sabellius, Petrus Justinianus, Philip de Comines, and other European writers ; for he seems to come very near

them in relating some particular stories. And it may be supposed that he took this advantage to oblige the Turkish grandees to whom he wrote, by inserting in his Letters such passages as they were wholly strangers to.

There need no more be said, but that you may expect another volume of Letters very speedily. Farewell.





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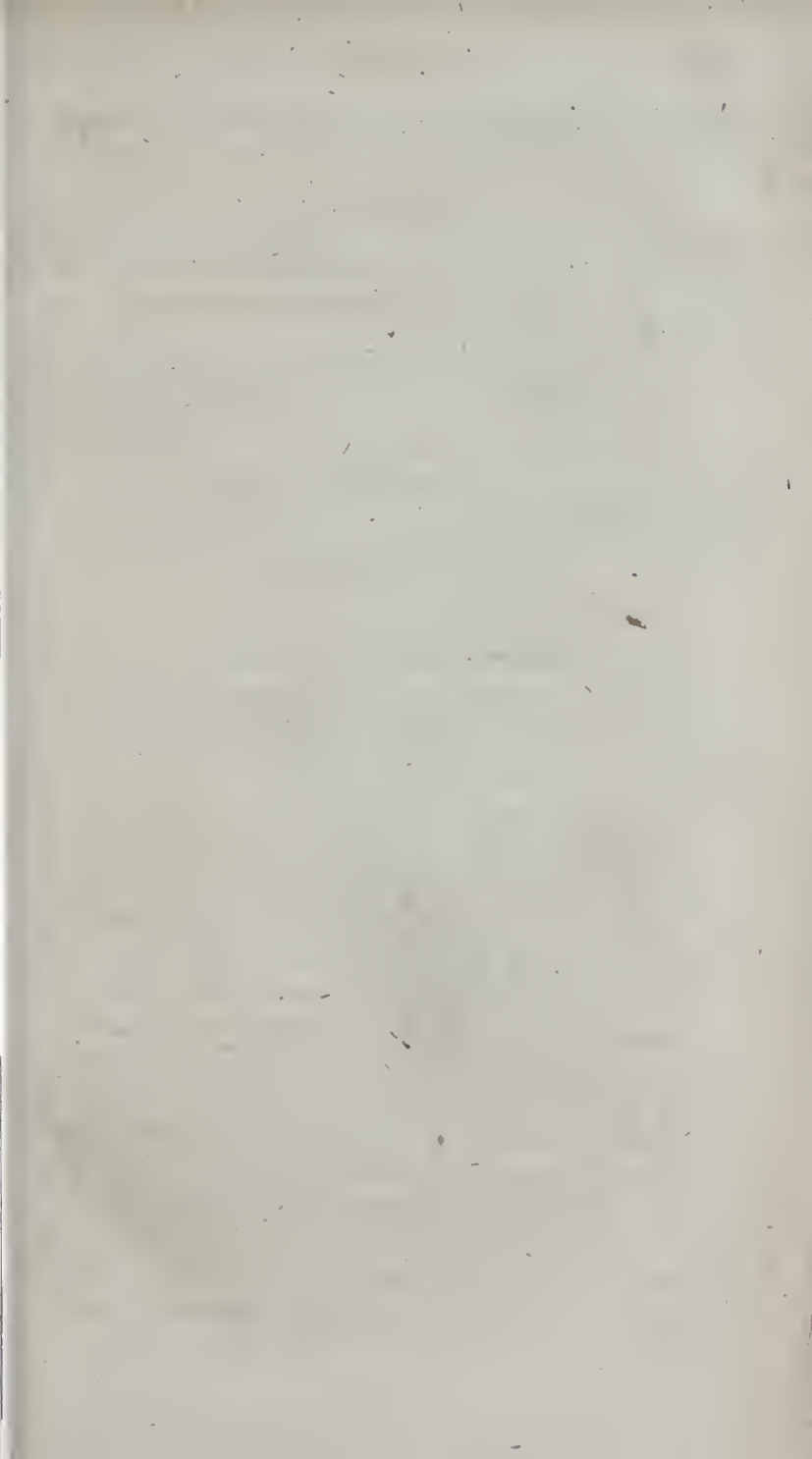
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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A SPY AT PARIS.

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### BOOK I.

LETTER I.—*MAHMUT the Arabian, and Indefatigable Slave to the Grand Signior, to MAHOMET, the Most Illustrious Vifler Azem, at the Porte.*

I CONGRATULATE thy ascent to that top of honour, the first dignity in the empire ever victorious. It is thy turn to be now exalted in the orb of fortune: Let not this high station make thee forget, that the wheel is always in motion, but consider, that since the advance thou hast made was not but by the fall of thy predecessor, thou hast the less reason to think thy own state secure.

I am no fortune-teller, nor would I be so rude as to prognosticate ill luck to my superiors; but men in eminent dignity have need of a monitor; and it is recorded of a great monarch, that he commanded one of his pages every morning to salute him, when he first awaked, with these words, “Remember, O king, that thou art a mortal.”

Let this example, supreme minister, plead my excuse,  
*Vol. IV.*

and incline thee to pardon the freedom which Mahmut takes, who, by this, thou seest is no flatterer.

Certainly all sublunary things ebb and flow like the waters ; and, though men may sometimes enjoy a spring-tide of felicity, yet fate has hidden sluices which, in a moment, shall convey the mighty torrent to some other channel.

I myself have in some measure experienced this, who am but a puny in comparison with thee : Yet destiny and chance are allotted to the little as well as to the great. The worm encounters as many cross contingencies in her humble reptile state, as does the towering eagle in all her lofty flights and ranges through the wide-stretched air.

In my infancy, I was snatched from the cradle, and from the arms of my mournful mother ; mournful on two accounts, the death of a husband, and the necessity of parting with her child : Yet this early separation turned to my advantage and her comfort. The sequel of my good fortune invited her to forsake her solitudes, and follow me to the imperial city, where she exchanged her melancholy widowhood for the society and love of a merry Greek ; whilst fate had another game to play with me, it being the will of Heaven, that from the delights of the seraglio, and the honour of serving the greatest sovereign in the world, I should fall into a cruel captivity, and be compelled ignominiously to drudge for a barbarous infidel. Afterwards, I gained my liberty, and applied myself to study in the academies. I will not boast of the proficiency I made ; but, at my return to Constantinople, thou knowest my superiors thought me capable of doing the Porte service in this place. Thus providence sports with mortals, and, by an unaccount-

able clue of discipline, leads them through the mazes of this life.

How I have discharged my trust here, I dare appeal to all, yet can please none. Every man will be my judge to give sentence against me, and some, I believe, would willingly be my executioners, which, at certain times, carries me into so deep a melancholy, that I ever join with my enemies, and condemn myself, though I know not for what. Surely, say I, so many perspicacious men cannot be all in the wrong, and I only in the right; they must needs see some faults in me, which I cannot discern in myself; doubtless I am partial, and never changed the order of *Æsop's* wallet. Then I reflect on these thoughts as the mere product of melancholy; for, after the strictest examination of my conduct, I find myself innocent of those things whereof I am accused. Yet, whilst I am justifying my integrity towards my great master, my sadness returns again, and tells me, that, without doubt, I have some ways offended God and his Prophet, who, for that reason, suffer the envious to persecute me, and drive me into a more intimate and familiar converse with myself, that so, by making a frequent scrutiny after the cause of my outward misfortunes, I may discover the secret crimes which I may have committed against Heaven, and which lie hid under my inadvertence and oblivion.

Then I am filled with a thousand scruples about my telling lies, and taking false oaths, though I am dispensed with for all those immoralities by the sovereign arbiter of the law. In a word, I know not sometimes what to think; and were it not that my agency in these parts meets with some success, I should often conclude, that I either lie under some curse of God or charms of men, that

either heaven or hell have a peculiar hand in afflicting me.

But all this may be only the fumes of my own dis-tempered spleen ; and the indulgent Judge of men may pass a milder sentence on me, than either I do myself, or my fellow-mortals. He is transcendently benign and merciful, and our sins of frailty appear in his eyes but as small atoms in the rays of a morning sun, which, though they be innumerable, yet the least breath of wind blows them all out of sight.

By what I have said it is apparent, that I have regard both to thee and myself ; to thee, as the supreme disposer of life and death under the Grand Signior ; to myself, as one culled out for a victim by the malicious, and lying at the feet of thy noble nature, begging thy protection. My enemies are industrious to ruin me, and lay hold on all opportunities to accomplish it. The sentence which they could not procure from thy predecessor, they may hope to draw from thee by their false informations. This makes me use precaution in my own defence, hoping to forestal their malice by this humble address.

Imitate thou the divine nature, and be not severe in remarking the peccadillos and small delinquencies of thy slave. If I turn infidel or traitor, I crave no favour.

That Supremely Merciful and Gracious, the First and the Last of the World, and Lord of Paradise, heap on thee as many blessings every day, as would employ my swiftest wishes a thousand years, and grant that thou mayest find admittance into the place full of rivers, whose springs take their rise from the bottom of the rock of eternity.

Paris, 17th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1649,

According to the Christian stile.



II.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE troubles of this kingdom, which a while ago seemed to be composed, are now again broke out afresh. The private grudges of some, and the ambition of others of the nobility, have once more put all in arms. This city is blocked up the Prince of Conde's army, who has not been long returned from Flanders. The King, the Queen, with Cardinal Mazarini, and the whole court, are at St. Germain en Lay, whither they went by night. This abrupt departure gave fresh courage to the seditious, and at the same time furnished them with new matter of accusation against Cardinal Mazarini, who, they say, has stole away their sovereign from them. The parliament have declared him an enemy to the government; they are levying foldiers as fast as they can, and provisions are laid in, as if they were to sustain a long siege. Several princes and grandees are come over to the citizens, having deserted the court, among whom is the Prince of Conti, brother to the Prince of Conde: Yet the Parisians are distrustful of him, and have confined his sister as a hostage for his fidelity, not knowing that his desertion is real, being occasioned by some quarrel between him and his elder brother.

It is said, that Cardinal Mazarini has taken a resolution to depart the kingdom, that so he may avoid the tempest that threatens him from all hands.

The queen has sent orders to the colonels that serve under Marechal Turenne in Germany, commanding them to abandon that general, who, they say, has declared for the parliament, and sent to offer them his service.

On the other side, the citizens endeavour to strengthen their party, by sending to all the parliaments of France,

to desire their conjunction in espousing the quarrel of this of Paris.

The company which the burghers of this city have raised, wear this motto in their ensigns, WE SEEK OUR KING.

In the mean while, the Archduke of Austria keeps near the frontiers of this kingdom, with an army of twenty thousand men, and sends frequent proposals to the parliament, in order to a peace.

Whilst I was writing the last words, news was brought me, that Eliachim the Jew is seized, and clapped in prison at St. Denys, which place is in the king's hands. I cannot learn the reason of his confinement, but am apt to suspect it is on the score of his late appearing among the rabble of Paris, whereof I gave an account in a letter to the Aga of the Janizaries.

The surprize I am in at this unfortunate accident, puts me upon a thousand thoughts. I know not what course to take for my own safety. If Eliachim's papers should be searched, Mahmut must be discovered; and then, if I tarry in the city, I cannot escape a prison; for though, at this juncture, one would think this place a sufficient protection from the court; yet the hatred they bear to the true believers, and the discovery of so important a commission as mine, would supersede their intestine animosities; I should infallibly be either delivered up to the court, or sent to the Bastile. If I go out of the city, my danger is yet greater, all the passes of the country being narrowly watched, and strongly guarded by the king's soldiers. This made me, at first, resolve to defer the conclusion of this letter to another time, whilst I provided for my own safety, as thinking it impossible to convey any intelligence out of France undiscovered; but being informed of a courier that was just going from the

parliament to the Archduke of Austria, and fearing lest I should never have the privilege of pen, ink and paper again, I have ravished a few moments from that little time I have left to shift for myself, that so I might give thee notice of this accident.

I have written also to Nathan Ben Saddi at Vienna, to prevent any dispatches from him till farther order. Both these letters I venture in the hands of a faithful messenger, who has caused them to be sewed up in the heels of his shoes, to prevent discovery. He travels under the protection of the courier.

I have not a minute left to say more, than that I am at this instant parting from my lodging, my books and other things being packed up, and porters ready to carry them away. If I get safe out of the house, I must change my habit and name, and so lay the foundation of a new concealment, till the issue of this adventure shall direct me what to do.

Adieu, illustrious Kaimacham, and expect to hear more in my next, or let my silence convince thee, that Mahmut is no longer at liberty.

Paris, 26th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1649.

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### III.—*To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.*

IF thou hast any dispatches coming for me, and it be yet in thy power to stop them, use wings in doing it, for I fear we are discovered in this place. Thy brother Eliachim is arrested by the king's orders. What is laid to his charge I know not for certain; neither is it necessary for thee to be informed in that point; but if his confinement be owing to some services he has lately done me, we are all lost. His papers will be searched, which

must of necessity betray our secrets, and then we have nothing to expect but the severest execution of the Christians fury and revenge. I am in no small confusion at this accident, having scarce time to provide for my concealment. Send no more to Paris, till thou receivest farther advice. We are all in arms, this city being blocked up by the queen's troops; so that I know not well which way to shift for myself, and escape a thousand scrutinies, which they will everywhere make into the affairs of a stranger. But that fate which overrules human contingencies, will, I hope, rescue me out of this danger, to which I commend both thee and me, bidding thee farewell, as if I were never to write to thee again; for so the issue may prove.

Paris, 26th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1649.

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#### IV.—*To ADONAI, a Jew, at Venice.*

I HAVE something more respite now, than when I wrote last to thy brother Nathan at Vienna, to inform him of Eliachim's being made a prisoner. I was in a greater hurry at that time than the ninth sphere. All my motions were swift. I went backward and forward like the planets, but had no leisure to stand still, as they do sometimes: In a word, I have run over the whole zodiac of policy, to seek for a new house, that wherein I lodged being like to prove too hot for me. At length I have found one, wherein I hope to meet with no malevolent aspects, but to remain, as before, in a friendly conjunction with the moon, behind whose splendours I may lie covered from the inquisitions of peering mortals.

To speak more intelligibly, I am, for the present, removed to other lodgings in this city, the better to shel-

ter myself from the storm which seems to hang over my head since Eliachim was seized. Yesterday I wrote to the Kaimacham, and to Nathan Ben Saddi, to give them an account of this accident. This goes along with the same messenger; for I durst not confide in the posts during the present disorders of this kingdom.

I received a letter from thee, wherein thou informest me of an attempt that has been lately made to rob the treasury of Venice, which, according to thy description, is very rich and magnificent, not to be matched in Europe. Perhaps, if thou hast seen the wealth that is preserved in the church of St. Denys, a city not far from Paris, thou wouldest be of another mind; but neither of us can make proper comparisons, having not seen both places. The French extol the latter, and say it far exceeds that of Venice; but they may speak partially, it being the humour of all people to magnify the grandeur of their own nation, and the French come no short of the rest of the world in vain-glory. However it be, it was a vast attempt, and full of infinite difficulties and perils, to rob the vaults of a church in the heart of that great and populous city, where all the riches of the seigniorie were repositied. It is an argument of the greatness of their souls, who durst undertake so hazardous an enterprise.

But this is not the first time the Venetians have been in danger to lose that prodigious mass of wealth. A poor Grecian once found a way, through marble barricades under ground, to enter those golden cells, from whence he carried away to the value of twenty hundred thousand zechins in jewels. But making one of his countrymen acquainted with it, the villain betrayed him to the doge, who caused him to be hanged.

That commonwealth has been all along very happy in



discovery of plots, and other mischiefs intended against her. I know not whether thou hast heard of the famous conspiracy of Tiepoli; who, not content with the life and estate of a private gentleman, sought to render himself sovereign of Venice; and to this end, insinuated into the affections of many thousands of the citizens, whom he kept in constant pension for above nine years together, under the notion of assisting him to revenge certain injuries he had received from a Roman gentleman. They were all to run with their arms into the streets when they should hear the name Tiepoli uttered aloud, and often repeated.

But when the day was come, whereon he was to put his designs in execution, and the alarm was given in the streets, an old woman made such haste to look out at her chamber window, to see what was the occasion of the tumult, that she threw down an earthen vessel, which falling directly on the head of Tiepoli, killed him, and so put an end to the rebellion. For which happy accident, the senate settled a yearly pension of a thousand zechins on the old woman during her life, and the same to be paid to her heirs and posterity for ever.

Send me no dispatches, till thou hast received another letter from me, which will direct thee what to do.

Paris, 27th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1649.

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V.—*To MAHUMMED, Hadgia, Dervise, Eremite, Inhabitant of the Prophetic Cave in Arabia the Happy.*

THE Franks, who are more ready to find faults in others, than to amend their own, censure the mussulmans for extending their charity to beasts, birds, and fishes. They laugh at the alms we bestow to feed dogs, cats, and

other living creatures, and ridicule the tenderness of such as go into the markets, and buy the birds that are there sold, on purpose to restore them to their native liberty. They say, it is a sufficient demonstration of piety, to relieve the necessities of men; and that it is but a fruitless hypocrisy, to show kindness to the brutes, who, in their opinion, have neither souls nor reason, and consequently are insensible of our good offices toward them.

These are the charges of Western railery, the scoffs of the obdurate, with which they load the generous Orientals, the hearts transfixed with universal love. What would they say, if they had heard of thy heroic piety, who not only affordest protection and relief to those creatures whereof we have no need, but even abstainest from the flesh of all animals, though the Prophet himself has indulged us the use of some for our necessary food, and without which many plead, that we cannot sustain life? Oh! excellent man, born for the reproof and light of the age, how is the soul of our great lawgiver exhilarated, when he beholds thy innocent and unblemished life? The treasury of Heaven is enriched with thy good works, the fertile harvest of virtues, the first fruits of the purity of thy nature! From thy first descent into that holy cave, the angels, who register the words of men, never heard thee utter a syllable that could be reprehended. Thy thoughts ravish the heart of God himself with joy. The universal spirit full of eyes, watcher of the universe, would fall asleep, were it not roused by the strong vibrations of thy sublime soul. Thy contemplations are themes for the college of those who were assistant in forming of all things. Were it not for such as thee, the angel of the first motion would cease to whirl the globes of light through the Heavens: The orbs above would grow rusty, and all the wheels and springs of Nature would

stand still. Oh elect idea, before whose purified essence the sun himself appears full of blemishes ! Human wit cannot find thy equal on earth ; thou art the impress on the seal of the prophets, the soul of the soul of Mahomet.

In thus celebrating thy high perfections, if I have offended thy modesty, thou hast the goodness to ascribe it to the excess of my affection, which carries me beyond human regards. I would fain be an imitator of thy incorrupt life ; for let the Christians say what they please, I will ever esteem abstinence a divine virtue. I have consulted the sages of old, that I might learn what was the practice of former times, whilst human nature was yet in its infancy, before the manners of men were debauched. I have pursued the select writings of the ancients, the records of truth, and void of fables ; and believing that such memoirs will not be unwelcome to thee, I presume to lay them at thy feet, as a mark of that profound veneration I owe to the tenant of the darling of God.

These historians say, that the first inhabitants of the earth, for above two thousand years, lived altogether on the vegetable products, of which they offered the first-fruits to God, it being esteemed an inexpressible wickedness to shed the blood of any animal, though it were in sacrifice, much more to eat of their flesh. To this end, they relate the first slaughter of a bull to have been made at Athens on this occasion. The priest of the town, whose name was Diomus, as he was making the accustomed oblation of fruits on an altar in the open field (for as yet they had no temples), a bull came running from the herd which was grazing hard by, and ate of the consecrated herbage. Upon which Diomus the priest, moved with zeal at the reputed sacrilege, and snatching a sword



from one of those that were present, killed the bull. But when his passion was over, and he considered what a heinous crime he had committed, fearing also the rage of the people, he persuaded them, that a god had appeared to him, and commanded him to offer that bull in sacrifice, by burning his flesh with fire on the altar, as an atonement for his devouring the consecrated fruits. The devout multitude acquiesced to the words of their priest, as to an oracle; and the bull being slayed, and fire laid on the altar, they all assisted at the new sacrifice; from which time, the custom was yearly observed among the Athenians, to sacrifice a bull; and by them this method of religious cruelty was taught, not only to all Greece, but to the rest of the world. In process of time, a certain priest, in the midst of his bloody sacrifice, taking up a piece of the broiled flesh, which had fallen from the altar on the ground, and burning his fingers therewith, suddenly clapped them to his mouth to mitigate the pain. But when he had once tasted the sweetness of the fat, not only longed for more of it, but gave a piece to his assistant, and he to others, who all pleased with the new found dainties, fell to eating of flesh greedily; and hence this species of gluttony was taught to other mortals. Neither is it material, what the Hebrew doctors object against these testimonies, when they introduce the son of Adam sacrificing living creatures in the infancy of the world; since thou knowest many errors are inserted in the written law, from whence they take this story.

They say also, that the first goat that fell by the hands of men, was killed in revenge for the injuries it had done the owner of a vineyard, in browsing on his vines; such an impious deed having never been heard of before.

This is certain, that the Egyptians, the wisest and most ancient people in the world, having received from the

first inhabitants of the earth a tradition, forbidding men to kill any living creature ; to give the greater force to this primitive law of nature, they formed the images of their gods in the similitude of beasts ; that so the vulgar, struck with reverence at the sacred symbols, might learn to abstain from killing, or so much as hurting the dumb animals : under whose forms they represented whatsoever among them was esteemed adorable.

Yet, lest any in his lifetime should by accident, or otherwise, have transgressed the law of abstinence, they used a kind of expiation for the dead, after this manner : The priests took the bowels out of the belly of the deceased, and putting them in an earthen vessel, they held it towards the sun, and calling witnesses, they made the following speech in behalf of the dead : “ O thou sun, whose empire is universal, and all ye other powers who give life to men, receive me into the society of the immortal gods ; for so long as I lived in this world, I religiously persevered in the worship of those deities, which were made known to me by my ancestors. I always honoured my parents, who begat my body. I never killed any man or beast, nor have been guilty of any black crime. But if whilst I lived, I have trespassed in tasting any of those things which are forbidden, it was not my sin, but the fault of these entrails, which are here separated from the rest of my body.” And having said this, they cast the vessel into the river on the banks of which the ceremony was performed, embalming the rest of the body as pure and free from sin.

After the same manner, the Persian magi, or wise men, practised abstinence. And, to imprint in their disciples a tenderness and friendship towards the beasts, they called them, according to their different stations, either lions, hyenas, crows, eagles, hawks, &c. ; and

their garments were painted all over with the various figures of animals, thereby insinuating the doctrine of the soul's transmigration; and inculcating this mystery, that the spirit of man enters successively into all sorts of bodies; which thou knowest is not remote from the faith of true believers.

It would not be amiss, as a testimony of the practice of the ancients, to insert a memorable address which the reformed priests of Crete were wont to make before the altar of Jupiter. "O divine governor of the hundred cities, we have led a holy life, from the time that we were initiated in thy mysteries, and forsook the nocturnal rites, and bloody feasts of Bacchus; we are now purified, and clothe ourselves in white vestments, the emblems of our innocence: We shun the society of polluted mortals; neither approach we to the sepulchres of the dead, nor taste of the flesh of any thing which has been endued with life."

Such also was of old, and to this day is, the abstinence of the Indians; among whom the brachmans perform the office of priesthood. These the ancient Grecians called Gymnosophists. They are all of one race, neither will they admit a stranger into their order. They live for the most part near to Ganges, or some other river, for the sake of their frequent purifications. Their diet consists of milk, curdled with four herbs. They feed also on apples, rice, and other fruits of the earth; esteeming it the height of impiety to taste of any thing that has life. They live in little huts or cottages every one by himself, avoiding company and discourse; employing all their time in contemplation, and the service of the temple. They esteem this life but a necessary dispensation of Nature, which they voluntarily undergo as a penance; ardently thirsting after the dissolution of

their bodies, and firmly believing, that the soul, by death, is released from its prison, and launches forth into immense liberty and happiness. Therefore they are always cheerfully disposed to die, bewailing those that are alive, and celebrating the funerals of the dead with joyful solemnities and triumphs. Among their good works, it is accounted an act of great reputation and virtue, to build hospitals for beasts as well as men : And in every city, there are great numbers of such as spend all their life, in tending on sick and wounded animals, or such as have no sustenance elsewhere. And this is no novel institution, but delivered down to them by tradition, from immemorable ages.

The precepts also of Triptolemus and Draco, the most ancient lawgivers of the Athenians, are a testimony of the innocence and sincerity of the first age ; for they comprehended all the whole system of piety and virtue, in practising these few rules :

“ Let it be an eternal sanction to the Athenians to adore the immortal gods, to reverence the departed heroes, to celebrate their praises with songs and the first fruits of the earth, to honour their parents, and neither to kill man nor beast.”

I could relate to thee examples of abstinence in the ancient Lacedæmonians, Spartans, Jews, and almost all nations of the East ; nor are there wanting some testimonies of it in these Western parts. This kingdom of France, was in old times instructed by a kind of prophets or philosophers, whom they called druids, who took up their usual residence under oaks. These taught the transmigration of souls, and therefore prescribed abstinence from flesh ; and showed to men the method of worshipping God with the first fruits of the earth. From hence they sailed over into Britain, and planted themselves in

that island, propagating the same doctrines, and were revered by the people as sacred oracles.

By all which it is evident, that the tender regard which the true faithful have for the brutes, is no innovation, or singular caprice of superstition, but the primitive practice of the ancients, the universal tradition of the whole earth. Nay, the Eastern Christians, for the most part, live an abstemious life, such as the Grecians, Armenians, Georgians, Mingrelians, and others that are scattered up and down in divers parts of Asia. These following the examples and traditions of the apostles and primitive fathers of their churches, either taste not at all, or very sparingly, the flesh of beasts, birds, and fishes. But the Nazarenes of the West, boast of I know not what liberty they have, to eat without scruple of all things, having the dispensation of the Roman musti, whom they call the Vicar of God. Hence it is, that these religious libertines are not afraid to gorge themselves even with the blood of slaughtered beasts, which their own law forbids them to taste; and they prop themselves up in their impiety, by saying, that the pope has power to change the traditions and ordinances of the apostles, and even of Jesus the Messiah himself. Hence proceeds their derision of those who show any tenderness to the brutes; for they are hardened in their gluttonous cruelty, and are but one remove from the most savage cannibals.

But thou, holy man of God, pity these infidels, and pray that Mahmut may be a sincere disciple of thy purity.

Paris, 16th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1649.



VI.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

I AM returned to my former lodging again, the case of Eliachim being not so bad as my fears. The occasion of his confinement were certain words he spoke against the proceedings of Cardinal Mazarini and the court, in company of such as were officious to oblige that minister. This was done at St. Denys, not far from Paris; where they immediately caused him to be taken into custody by the king's guards, who quartered in that town. It has cost him a considerable sum of money to purchase his liberty, which he now enjoys as before. I had other thoughts, when I first heard the news of his being seized; and that it was for some seditious expressions; for then I called to mind, how he had acted last year by my order, during the tumults of Paris, and concluded, that some unlucky accident had now betrayed him; which, if it were so, would infallibly bring me into the same danger. This made me so suddenly change my habitation, and put a stop to the dispatches of the Sublime Porte. I thought no caution too much, to preserve the affairs of my commission indemnified; and, that it were better to offend in being too wary, than too secure. If I have taken wrong measures in thus absconding, it is for want of fuller instruction from my superiors. I wish they would honour me with particular rules, in case of such emergencies; then I should steer my course, without running the hazard of rocks and sands. I have often desired to know, whether if I were discovered, I should own myself an agent for the Grand Signior. But none of the ministers have vouchsafed to direct me in this point; whereby I may commit an irreparable mistake if such a thing should happen.

Adonai the Jew informs me of an attempt lately made

to rob the treasury of Venice, which according to his description is very rich and magnificent. He says, there are twelve crowns of pure gold, and an equal number of breastplates of the same metal, set with all sorts of precious stones of inestimable value ; an hundred vessels of agate ; threescore services for the altar, all of pure gold, enriched with diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, and other stones of price. There is also an unicorn's horn, above the purchase of money. There are fourteen unpolished pearls, as large as a man's fist. The ducal cap is valued at a hundred thousand zechins ; with many other rarities, and costly ornaments, too tedious to be inserted in a letter.

Certainly so much wealth was never destined to fall into the hands of little private thieves ; it is a booty fit for kings and great generals, the licenced banditti of the earth. So many glittering jewels would tempt the honesty of an angel, and he would be glad to adorn the apartments of his heaven, with these radiant drops of the sun which he sees on earth.

I have met with some pretty relations of the boldness of robbers, but none that ever matched the bravery of this enterprise ; which was no less than to rob one of the most potent states in the world of her chiefest treasure.

He wanted not for impudence, who, when the Emperor Charles V. was removing his court, and all the officers were busy in packing up the goods, entered the chamber where the emperor was ; and, having made his obeisance fell roundly to pulling down the rich hangings of tissue, which by the help of his confederates he carried away, with abundance of plate ; no body ever suspecting but that he was one of the emperor's servants, till the person came whose office it was to remove

those goods, and then the other was known to be a thief.

I have heard of a Spaniard, who on a great festival, when the priests had finished the service of the altar, and were retired to their lodgings, went very boldly and took the golden vessels off the altar, and carried them away under his cloak, as though he had been the steward of that church, no body suspecting any other.

I kiss the hem of thy vest, illustrious Kaimacham, and pray, that thou mayest monopolize the choicest blessings of Heaven, and have thy share of the riches of the earth, without danger of losing them to great or small thieves.

Paris, 16th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1649.

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VII.—To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew, at Vienna.

Now thou mayest continue thy dispatches as before. Our fears are vanished; Eliachim is released, and all things are in safety. Thou hast no reason to tax me with timorousness, in so abruptly forsaking my habitation, on the bare foresight of far-fetched possibilities, when thou shalt consider, that there is no arming against contingencies in the moment they arrive, and that he who trusts all things to chance, makes a lottery of his life, wherein, for one happy event, he shall meet with ten unlucky ones. To what use serves that apprehensive faculty which Nature has posted as the *corps du guard* of our lives and fortunes, allowing it the senses for scouts and sentinels? To what end, I say, serves this watchful faculty, but to take the alarm at doubtful emergencies, to rouse our caution, that so we may make provision, and be in a posture of defence, against whatsoever may happen.



News came that Eliachim was seized for seditious words against the government. I was conscious that both he and I had been guilty of more than bare words in that kind, therefore what had happened to him, I look upon as due to myself also, and that my confinement would soon follow, if I took not speedy care to prevent it by seasonably absconding. This was the reason of my sudden departure, which cannot justly be ascribed to cowardice, since it was the effect of common prudence.

Now I am returned to my old lodging again, where the joy they are in for the birth of a son will not give them leisure to reflect on my affairs, so that I am received by my host without the least jealousy or suspicious animadversions. Brimful of mirth and jovial thoughts, the good man compliments me, and proclaims his better fortune, invites me to sit down with his friends, and partake of the gifts of Ceres and Bacchus. This, thou knowest, is the custom of the whole earth at the birth of mortals; they make merry over one that is born to the same miseries as themselves, who, the first moment he draws the breath of life, is enrolled in the register of death, and from the womb makes swift and direct advances to the grave.

However, I sat down with the rest, to comply with the exhilarated humour of my host. I ate, I drank, and seemed merry with the company, yet at the same time I could not but nauseate my entertainment, and disdain the extravagant profusion of spirit which appeared in every one of this vain assembly. They all talked eagerly, and one man's words drowned those of another, whilst an universal laughter confounded the sense of all. Then I praised in myself the modesty and order observed in our eastern banquets and feasts, where no uncomely gestures or actions escape the well-natured guests, no loud talking or

braying like asses, but every one strives to suppress the motions and appearances of a too forward and indulgent mirth, and contain themselves within the bounds of a decent and civil reserve. Such were the feasts instituted by Lycurgus among the ancient Lacedæmonians, where such as were friends and acquaintance met together and refreshed themselves without riot and luxury; they conversed together interchangeably, after the manner of philosophers or men of the law, discoursing soberly either of natural things or civil affairs, mixing facetious and witty jests with their more serious talk, without clamour, scurrility, or giving any offence: But these western people think themselves not merry till they are drunk, nor witty unless they be rude; they play a thousand wanton tricks, like apes; and the greatest buffoon is the best company.

Wherefore, sick to see men so much degenerate from themselves, I made my excuses, and retired to my chamber, where I presently set pen to paper, to give thee an account of my return.

If thou continuest thy former resolution of following the dictates of reason in matters of religion, thou wilt quickly find that thy rabbis have taught thee to believe in fables which accord neither with reason nor common sense. Follow the best guide, and be happy.

Paris, 16th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1649.

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#### VIII.—*To ADONAI, a Jew at Venice.*

THY pen is now free again; write as soon and as often as thou wilt; our fears are dissipated, and all goes well. If thou canst inform me of any more remarkable passages and adventures, spare not to oblige me with frequent let-

ters ; and to encourage thee, I will relate to thee a story which is recorded in the histories of Naples.

In former times, there was a statue of marble standing on the top of a mountain in Apulia, with this inscription on the head, which was of brass, ON MAY-DAY AT SUN-RISING I SHALL HAVE A HEAD OF GOLD. No man in all those parts could be found who was able to unriddle this mysterious expression, and therefore it was not regarded for many ages ; but at length, in the reign of a certain prince, there was a Saracen, who, having seen and considered the statue, with the inscription, proposed to explain it for a certain reward. The prince hearing of this, and being greedy of the novelty, sent for the Saracen, and bargained with him for a thousand crowns to unfold this riddle. He waited till May-day came, and watching the image that morning early, he observed the place where the head cast its shadow just as the sun rose ; there he ordered certain men to dig, which when they had done, and were got pretty deep in the earth, they encountered a prodigious treasure of silver, gold and jewels, with which the prince was so well satisfied, that he doubled the Saracen's reward, and sent him home into his own country laden with rich presents. Doubtless there is much wealth buried by men in the earth ; for in former times they were of opinion, that if they should die suddenly in the wars, or otherwise, such riches as they had hidden in the earth would serve them in the other world ; and this is the practice of the Indians to this day, as my brother informs me, who has been among them.

Strange blindness ! that men should think the immortal soul needed the assistance of silver, gold, or any material substance, after she herself is divested of the body, and become a naked spirit.

Let thou and I have a nobler idea of ourselves than to fancy we shall be in want of the glittering dross in that invisible state whither we are all hastening. There are no money-changers in that world of spirits. If thou hast superfluity, hide it not in the earth, but give it to the poor, and thou shalt receive it again, transformed into a substance more refined and radiant than the stars.

Paris, 16th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1649.

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IX.—*To the REIS EFFENDI, Chief Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

THE intestine quarrels of the French seem to be like those of lovers, whose choleric intervals serve but to give a new edge to the returns of their affection, as if one of these passions was made to whet the other, and make it more sprightly; or, as if love would grow dull and seculent, were it not sometimes roused and fermented by anger.

But I believe there is a greater mystery in the reconciliation between the French court and the parliament of Paris. Some ends of policy have hastened both parties to clap up a peace, while the secret rancour remains unpurged.

Perhaps the union of so many princes and nobles with the parliament might incline the queen to milder councils than her own Spanish genius; besides, the conjunction of the other parliaments of the kingdom, the revolt of Normandy, Gascoigne and Provence, with many eminent cities, were very prevailing motives; but that which was of greatest force was the want of money and men to carry on the war, which could not be raised without vast difficulty during these public alienations.

Whatever were the inducements, a peace was concluded about the latter end of the third moon, at a place called Ruel, not far from Paris, where the king has a house of pleasure, seated in the midst of a little paradise. In one of my letters to the Kaimacham, I formerly described the king's house and garden at St. Germain en Lay. This is but a little chiose or bower in comparison of that stately palace; yet what is wanting in the grandeur of the fabric, is supplied in its elegant contrivance, and the richness of its ornaments; and as for the garden, it comes not far short of the other, there being in it all manner of curious waterworks, groves, solitudes, fountains, statues, and whatsoever the ingenuity of these western artists could suggest as proper to render this place agreeable to the melancholy humour of the late queen-mother, Mary de Medicis, to whom it belonged during her life.

When you enter this delicious Eden, your eyes and ears are presently deceived by the counterfeit notes and motions of all kinds of birds, which perpetually sing as the water tunes their throats. A little farther, you see several old Gentile statues adorning two fountains; and, among the rest, a crocodile, big as the life, who, by the harmony he makes, seems to have a concert of music in his belly as regular and sweet as that of the Italian society at Constantinople, which thou hast often heard.

As we depart from this, full of complacency and admiration at the exquisite imitation of Nature in these contrivances, we fall insensibly into a place exactly like what the poets describe when they speak of Elysium. It is a grove, the tops of whose trees are so thick interwoven, that the sun appears no otherwise through them than as if he were behind a cloud or in an eclipse; so that the darkness of this place, and solemn murmur the winds make on high among the tops of the trees, fills it with a kind of



sacred horror, which has often made me think this wilderness something like that which historians describe when they speak of the avenues to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Egypt; for in the very centre of this grove stands the house, a place one would think fitter for a convent than a prince's court; at best it appears but like a royal hermitage, a cell consecrated to kingly melancholy.

I could not forbear making this digression when I mentioned Ruel to be the place where the peace was concluded between the court and the parliament. This encomium is a tribute which I owed for the satisfaction and pleasure I have often received in this retirement; besides, I thought an idea of such a garden would not be unwelcome to thee, who art a lover of solitude.

The coadjutor of Paris, who is an archbishop, is highly affronted that this peace was concluded without him, who had a chief hand in beginning the war. He labours to inflame the people again, and reduce all to the old confusion, being an irreconcilable enemy of Cardinal Mazarini; so that we expect another insurrection in a short time, for the French cannot be long idle.

Happy minister, I leave thee under the wings of that Spirit which guards the elect, and bid thee farewell.

Paris, 15th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1649.

#### X.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

SHALL I tell thee I mourn for the death of our friend Egri Boynou, whom thou sayest a fever snatched from us the first day of the moon Regib? That fever, it seems, was the effect of his continual and excessive grief for the loss of his eyes; so that we may say, he has been dying ever since the hour that fatal sentence was put in execu-

tion : And shall we grudge our friend a release from so lingering a death ? At best, it was but the winter of life wrapped up in clouds and darkness : Now, like the serpent, he has cast his slough, lifts up his head with new vigour, sports himself in the meadows of paradise, and basks in the warmth of an eternal spring.

It will not therefore be a mark of our affection to him, but only a discovery of our self-love, to condole the occasion of his happiness, because it has lessened ours, by robbing us of his beloved company and friendship : Besides, we know not but that he may still continue to be our friend even in that invisible state, and either manage our interests above, or at least protect us from dangers here below. We are ignorant of the laws and constitutions of that kingdom of spirits, and, for aught we know, the souls of just men after death may become the tutelar genii or guardian angels of their surviving friends and relations. Let it be how it will, doubtless Egri is immortal and happy, and it will be envy in us to repine at it. Rather let us congratulate the time of his decease as the day of his nativity, and leave mourning to the crowd of mortals who do a thousand things without ever thinking what they are about. They tread in the steps of their fathers, never examining whether they be right or wrong : Custom and education have almost banished reason from the earth. Is it not a pleasant spectacle to see the kindred of an old rich miser (for whose death they had long waited, like harpies for their prey) now flock about his lifeless carcase, howling out a thousand forced lamentations, whilst in the mean time their blood dances in their veins for joy ? Yet, however, this carries a show of civilized manners, and is better than the barbarous custom of the Scythians and Massagetes, who, when their old men grew useless or troublesome, were wont to sacrifice them, and

make a banquet with their flesh ; or the Thebarenes, who threw their aged friends alive down precipices. These were savages ; but much more so were the Hyrcanians and Bactrians, who cast their aged parents, yet living, to be devoured by dogs ; which inhumanity, when Stasanor, the deputy of Alexander the Great, endeavoured to suppress, they had like to have deposed him from the government ; so prevalent is the force of a received custom on the minds of the unthinking herd.

Let thou and I therefore not supinely take up with common practices, but, like men of reason, let us adjust the last offices we owe to our friend, whilst we pour forth some devout orisons for the health of his soul, without disturbing his and our own repose with fruitless lamentations ; and since we are bereaved of his society on earth, let us prepare to follow him, and render ourselves agreeable company at our next rendezvous in heaven.

It was an unjustifiable rigour in Sultan Ibrahim to deprive him of his eyes, because he had only cast them unhappily on one of the sultanas as she entered the garden. This jealousy is the peculiar vice of the East ; yet they are more severe in Persia, where it is present death to be within two leagues of the king's women when they travel the road : But I never knew that eunuchs were thus punished. Or is there such a difference between a white and a black eunuch, that the one deserves to lose his eyes for beholding that by chance, which the other is honourably rewarded for having access to, and seldom being out of their sight ?

This was the worst punishment that Seleucus, the lawgiver of the Locrians, imposed on them that were actually caught in adultery ; which puts me in mind of a notable instance of this man's justice ; for, when his own son was accused, and proved guilty of this crime, at once to



show the tenderness of a father, and the incorruptible severity of a judge, he first caused one of his own eyes to be put out, and then one of his son's, thus taking on himself half the penalty, that so the law might be satisfied in the whole, and yet his son not be totally deprived of his sight.

Thou tellest me no news of our armies, nor what alterations have been made amongst the ministers of the Porte since the death of Sultan Ibrahim. We have various reports here; and some say, that the new Visier Azem will be no long-lived man. I desire thee to write often to me, and send me what intelligence thou canst.

Let nothing slip the knot which has fastened us so many years together in an entire friendship, but let us carry that magnet with us to our graves, that at what distance soever we may be buried, our souls may, by the force of that attractive, find one another out, and converse together in that region of silence and shadows.

Paris, 9th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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### XI.—*To the Captain BASSA.*

I KNOW not where this letter will find thee, on the shore, or at sea. If thou art in the watery wilderness, I have no art to trace thee. There are no certain roads in that inconstant element. It is a mighty plain, without path or track; and though there be certain stages in it, yet thy arrival at them is timed at the pleasure of the winds and waves, which will not obey even the orders thou hast received from the Grand Signior, lord of the four seas. Perhaps thou art in pursuit of some Venetian ships, or other Christian vessels, the corsairs of the Mediterranean; or thou mayest be careening thy fleet in the securer re-

treats of the Archipelago ; thou mayest be within a minute of a wreck, or just entering a harbour. Wherever thou art, may Heaven preserve thee from the dangers which always threaten such as trust their lives to a piece of wood, for there will be great need of thee, if our intelligence be true in these parts.

It is reported here, that the Cossacs, Circassians, Mingrelians, and other people who border on the Black Sea, and obey not the law brought down from heaven, are entered into a league against the blessed Porte, and have covered those seas with a mighty fleet, while the Prince of Georgia rushes down from his mountains with an army of forty thousand Armenians, Persians, and borderers of Mount Caucasus ; that the former have taken a thousand of our trading saicks, and are advanced as far as the Ferry of the Bull, which thou knowest is but six hours sail from the imperial city ; that the latter have made incursions into the territories of the Grand Signior, put all to the sword who resisted them as they marched along, burned and laid waste the country ; and that all the Greeks and Armenians flock to them, threatening an universal defection from the Ottoman empire.

As to the truth of these reports I can ascertain nothing, but am inclined to believe the Cossacs are troublesome at sea, and that they may have drawn some of their neighbours into a league, those pilfering nations who live by rapine and spoil on both elements. Our small vessels trading on the Black Sea, full of riches, and empty of arms, must needs be a temptation to those pirates, who are the most dexterous at a robbery, and the boldest fellows in the world. The merchants of these parts, who have had some traffic at Caffa and other towns on the banks of the Black Sea, give a frightful description of those tempestuous waters, and no good character

of the people that border on them. The Cossacs, they say, are valiant and mercenary, the Circassians hardy and bold, the Mingrelians sly and crafty, and the Georgians of an astral complexion, capable of all virtues and vices. The first seldom act unless encouraged by the King of Poland or the Czar of Muscovy, and then they are content with their pay and the lawful plunder of war. The second are never idle when there is hope of prey, whether they fight their own cause, or are employed by others; and fear neither hunger, cold, nor any other extremity, for the sake of a prize. The third are good at a stratagem, and would steal a man's teeth out of his gums, if he be not wary; great cowards, yet desperate in their own defence, when they see no medium between fighting and death. As for the fourth, they seem to be a kind of mongrels, a medley race, whose character is compounded of the other three.

They are stout and witty, dexterous at a cheat, and no bunglers at an ingenious theft; great liars, full of compliments and external civilities, but perfidious and implacable in their revenges.

Yet, after all, I cannot believe the prince of this country, who is a tributary to the King of Persia, would venture his government at two such desperate stakes, by breaking the peace concluded by his sovereign with the Grand Signior, and so drawing upon himself the vengeance of them both; therefore, he is either secretly abetted by that monarch, or else the news is false.

Wouldst thou know how this country came to be subject to the crown of Persia? It was conquered by Ishmael Sophi, to whom the Persian historians in flattery give the epithet of Great. He was the first of that name and of the Persian kings, that refused to obey the orthodox successors of the Sent of God. This prince was va-

liant in the field, and no coward at wine, if we may believe one of his courtiers, who wrote memoirs of his life. He records sixteen battles, wherein he always got the victory, and twice that number of royal debauches, when he showed the strength of his brain in the company of foreign ambassadors, with whom he would always carouse before they departed his court, that he might sound the depth of their instructions ; for none were able to cope with him at the juice of the grape ; and he always esteemed that liquor a friend to truth.

If he suspected his ministers of state, or any of the governors of provinces, he used to invite them to a banquet, where, in the midst of his drinking, he unravelled their secret inclinations and councils, being the most dexterous at picking the locks of a man's heart of any one living. They never went alive from his presence, if by one false step in their carriage, though it were but a word too passionate, or a look less composed to resignation, he could discover or frame to himself the grounds of a just jealousy, it being ever his maxim, " That credulity was the only vice could ruin a happy prince." He had another saying also, " That Persia was fertile of men, but barren of faithful officers."

I cannot admire these cruel strains of policy ; yet kings have reasons for their actions and words which we cannot comprehend. The philosophers say, " That wine was given us by the gods to mitigate our cares, and for a time to make us equal to their divinities in the free enjoyment of ourselves ;" and though as a Mussulman I am not bound to subscribe to the principles of Pagans, yet as a man, partaker of flesh and blood, I think he doubly misuses that liquor who perverts it to the ends of cruelty.

But this monarch had other thoughts, when, by the assistance of the Georgian forces, having subdued the

regions bordering on the Caspian Sea, at that time in the hands of the Ottomans, he invited the King of Georgia to his tent, under pretence of a festival joy for their mutual success. The unwary prince, trusting to his own merit and the faith of his neighbour, ventures himself with a small guard to the camp of Ishmael. The Persian entertained him with all the outward demonstrations of affection and gratitude for his repeated aids; but in the end of the feast, taking exceptions at some words the King of Georgia spoke in praise of his own soldiers, he commanded his eunuchs to seize on him, and carry him to the tent of the Unfortunate (so they called the pavilion or cage of the grandees fallen into disgrace); then he gave swift orders for the Georgian soldiers to be manacled; and having thus done, he bestowed the government of Georgia on one Luarzab, on condition that he and his successors would embrace the faith of Hali, and pay tribute to the crown of Persia.

From this Luarzab has the government of Georgia descended, not in a line of blood, but at the pleasure of the Persian kings, to him who now holds it, Shanavas-Chan, who, I believe, has more wit than to hazard his possessions for the sake of a chimera.

In thus roving from my first point thou canst not blame me, since thou thyself attest by the rules of navigation, which vary according to the bias of the needle. Thou followest one magnet, and I another, yet let us both meet in the centre of duty we owe the Grand Signior.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1649.



XII.—To CARA HALY, *Physician to the Grand Signior.*

THOU wilt say, it is an unmannerly way of congratulating thy new advance to begin my address with complaints; yet friendship overlooks punctilios. It is not the first time I have trespassed on thy generous temper. I am indisposed, and cannot act the courtier, though I am ravished to hear the news. It is some support to my languishing spirits, that whilst I am crumbling and dwindling away into the little principles of which I was made, thou, my friend, art growing in the bulk of mortal greatness in the favour of our glorious sultan.

However, I cannot but suspect the pretended kindness of him who raised thee, I mean the new visier; neither hast thou much reason to take this sudden reconciliation for any other than a mask of his old malice. He cannot forget the quarrel between thy father and him on the account of Dara Meseck, the lieutenant-general of the janizaries, when the brave old cheik put a stop to the designed revenge of this inhuman upstart.

Assure thyself, that he who has made his steps to the grandeur he now possesses over the neck of his master, will not spare any from whose wit or power he may fear a shock; and he knows both thy experience and interest too great not to mistrust the son of his enemy.

Besides, the eminent command thy brother has over the Spahis must needs be an additional caution to the man whose name sounds nowhere so sweetly as in the chamber of the janizaries.

Thou art sensible that the newly-revived animosity between these military orders threatens a calamity to the Ottoman empire, which cannot be diverted without a sacrifice on one side or other; and since the Spahis have

engaged so many potent bassas in their quarrels, who can expect to fall but the mighty favourite of the infantry?

He knows this very well, and to prevent his own ruin, he resolves on thine and thy brother's; thine under the mask of friendship, till by his wheedle he has drawn thy brother to Constantinople, where he will not fail to be strangled, that so a creature of the visier may be promoted in his room; and what will become of thee after this, I leave to thy own judgment.

Perhaps thou wilt despise the advice of a sick man, and impute my fears to an excess of melancholy, from which distemper, thou knowest, I am seldom free; but I tell thee, my reason labours under no hypochondriac disorders, though my body may. I am no enthusiast when I counsel my friend to avoid an apparent danger: However, if thou thinkest it needless for me to busy myself in such cases, I have done; but I shall never cease to pray for thy prosperity, as often as I comply with the law in kissing the floor five times a-day, and repeating the appointed orisons of faith.

Methinks, when I write to thee now, my pen is at a loss; I am puzzled for a style suitable to thy new honour and our old friendship.

But if I take too much liberty, ascribe it to the sincerity of my affection, which knows not how to be reserved or strange to a person whom once I could call my other self, for no wider is the distance between friends.

Paris, 5th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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### XIII.—*To CHIURGI MUHAMET, Bassa.*

I KNOW not whether what I am going to relate will be news to thee, or to any of the ministers residing at the

Sublime Porte. However, it is so to me, and I am commanded to conceal nothing of moment that comes to my ears.

Mahomet, eldest son to Achmet the Dey of Tunis, is now at Rome, having embraced the Christian religion. People relate variously the motives that induced him to this change. Some say it was interest, he having held a private correspondence with the Viceroy of Sicily, who promised him, in the King of Spain's name, to make him lord of several large territories in the West Indies.

Others say, it was discontent at his father's government, and austere carriage towards him, the old man having forced him to marry the Bassa of Tripoli's daughter against his inclination.

But the greatest part ascribe this change in religion to the force of his conscience, which, they say, was convinced by a miracle of the truth of the Christian faith ; for, as they relate, being once at sea in a vessel, wherein were many Christians, and a dreadful tempest arising, the mariners, who were all mussulmans, seeing the havoc that the winds and waves had made of the ship tackle, gave over all for lost, and fainting under so much labour, watching and terror as they had undergone, lay down, and let the ship drive wherever the storm would carry her. But there being a Christian priest aboard, esteemed a very holy and blameless man, he excited the Christians to appease the wrath of God by some extraordinary acts of devotion. Then they all made a solemn procession on the decks of the ship, the priest carrying before them that which they call the Sacrament, imploring the mercy of God, and often calling on Jesus and Mary ; when, behold, as the priest stood aloft on the poop, reading aloud part of the Gospel, the storm suddenly ceased, the clouds were dispersed, the air grew serene and calm, and the ves-



fel got safe into harbour. Upon this, they say, Mahomet, when he came ashore, took that priest along with him, desiring to be instructed in the Christian belief, making a vow also, that he would renounce the law of the mussulmans, and embrace that of Jesus.

This is what such as are zealous for the honour of the Christian faith relate concerning this prince's conversion. However it be, it is certain, that he privately made his escape from Tunis by sea, and bent his course directly for Sicily, where in a few days he landed, and was received by the viceroy according to the dignity of a prince. A while after, he was baptized by an archbishop, who gave him the name of Don Philippo, by which he is called in all places.

They say he was a little scandalized at first, when he saw with what freedom the Sicilian women appeared abroad in the streets and conversed with men; but that afterwards he took a great delight in their company, especially those that could sing well, or play on any instrument of music, to which he is much addicted; and therefore he chooses to frequent those temples where their service is performed with variety of excellent music, as it is in all great cities; and, for aught we know, the character which the Christian priest gave him of this harmonious manner of worshipping God, might have no small influence on a man naturally affected with that science. Certainly music has a mighty force on our affections; and it is a proverb here in the West, "That he who does not love music, has no soul." One of the ancient philosophers defined the soul itself to be an harmony; and another was so sensible of the various effects of this science in raising different passions in men, that he left it as an aphorism, "Such as the music is, such are the people of a commonwealth;" whence it was the great care of such

as took upon them to form the manners of youth, that no tunes should be played in their hearing which naturally provoked to levity and wantonness, but grave and martial strains, such as prompted heroic thoughts, and disposed them to virtue. The Italians are great masters of this science, and the airs which they compose for their church service are very deep and ravishing, which causes their new profelyte Don Philipppo to pass his time very attentively during the celebration of their high mass and their even song. They report that he will turn Jesuit.

He went from Sicily loaded with gifts and presents, and came to Rome, the seat of the Christians chief mus-ti, whom they call the Pope. He is much honoured and carested by the holy father and all the cardinals, who have told him so many fair things of the Nazarene faith, and showed him so many sacred relics of antiquity, that he thinks himself already within the verge of heaven, and that Rome is no other than the suburbs of paradise. There is something very charming and sweet in the conversation of the Christian prelates, if they be men of learning, as most generally they are; and it is no wonder that such polite company should prevail much on the flexible temper of a young prince, who is as a pilgrim in a strange country, where he can hear nothing but perpetual eulogies of the Christian religion, nor see any thing but objects, which serve only to confirm in his mind a venerable idea of that faith he has embraced. Besides, they say, he is fallen deeply in love with a young Roman lady; so that there is no hope of rescuing him from the power of so many enchantments.

Therefore, giving him over as lost, let us pray the Omnipotent to establish us in his truth, that neither interest, passion, nor an erroneous conscience, may ever be able to make us swerve from the law written in Heaven,

but that we may adhere to God and his Prophet with a thousand souls.

Paris, 5th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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XIV.—*To SALA, TIRCHENI EMIN, Superintendant of the Royal Arsenal at Constantinople.*

WE are all alarmed here with the news of I know not what boisterous adventures of the Cossacs and their neighbours, that possess the ancient kingdom of Colchis. Had I not a firm faith in the Alcoran, it would fill me with panic fears; but no attempts can prevail against the men fighting under the shadow of the prophet. He descended with a consummate authority from the monarch who commands all things. The mandate of Heaven will disperse the infidels. The seven visiers above were witnesses to the words, whose echoes caused thunder, when the Prophet retired from the steps of the throne. Had not Moses given him warning (who remembered the noise in the mount), the apostle had lost his address, and been confounded before the angels; but, encouraged with the whisper of the man with horns, he made no default in his conge, and, with little loss of time, arrived to the ninth sphere, where he proclaimed the Nefiarum, and all the inhabitants of that orb resorted to the banner which he had in his hands. The prophet told them it was only for a trial of their fidelity. They made obedience, and retired.

From that place he made no scruple, but that the elect in heaven and earth would obey the divine patent. He finished his descent triumphantly, and pitched his feet on Mount Uriel. Those that believe Hali, say, it was on the top of the Ragged Rock: But let here-

tics alone in their infidelity. Be it where it pleased God, he spoke the words that shall never be reversed, when he displayed the heavenly filk, and said, "Whoever takes up arms against this banner, shall be reputed an infidel; he shall be exterminated from the earth."

I often think on these passages in the holy memoirs, the collections of the life full of wonders. Then I comfort myself with this thought, that if all the uncircumcised in the world should enter into a combination, they would not succeed against the men fighting under the commission with the seal.

I have sent a letter to the Bassa of the Sea, acquainting him with the news of this expedition of the Cossacs, since which I am informed, that these people are headed by a famous pirate in those parts, a man of a daring spirit, and capable of the boldest undertakings. The French merchants who have traded in the Black Sea, give him a high character, and portend great injuries to the Ottoman empire from the success of his arms; for, they say, he is a good captain both by sea and land. I have heard several different stories of his birth and education; but this I am going to relate comes from the best hands, and seems most probable.

His name is Pachicour, a Circassian by birth, but bred up in a sea town of the Ukrain, near the mouth of the Niester. He left his native country at the age of twelve years, out of a desire to see foreign parts, embarking himself, unknown to his parents, in a vessel of Podolia, which then was ready to set sail from Bala Clug. He carried with him a small sum of money, which he had purloined from his father, and served as a fund of his future fortune; for, arriving at a certain town in Podolia, he frequented the quays, and offered his service to several merchants, one of which observing in his face the

marks of a promising genius, entertained him in his house. He lived with him seven years, and performed his office so well, that he made him his factor to Constantinople.

Pachicour discharged his trust there with much profit to his master, and honour to himself; so that, at his return, several merchants entrusted him with their goods, and sent him to trade at Caffa, and other towns on the Black Sea. His judgment and reputation increasing with his years, he became in time famous in all the trading towns; and such was his credit in the Ukrain, that all the merchants put their vessels and goods into his hands, so that he sailed many times with a fleet of twenty ships, having the disposal of all the goods committed to his management. He grew so rich in time by his dealings, that he was able to drive a considerable trade for himself, and then it was he began to lay the foundation of a design which he has since executed. His genius was too active always to be confined to this slow way of growing great; therefore he was resolved, at one blow, to raise his fortune to the pitch he aimed at. He was the only broker, banquier and merchant wherever he came.

It was no difficult thing for a man of so vast a credit to raise an extraordinary stock; and Pachicour could easily silence the alarms of conscience. There happened also a juncture very proper for his design; for while he was at Isgaou, a port of Circassia, day and night projecting how to exalt himself, a war broke out between his countrymen and the Mingrelians. The latter appeared with a navy at sea, which alarmed all the maritime parts of Circassia. Pachicour, whose invention was always busy, took a hint from this to accomplish his plot. Expedition was his chiefest game: Therefore, he



speedily made the utmost use of his credit among the Podolian merchants, and other foreigners residing at Isgaou; and when he had amassed together prodigious sums of gold, for which he only gave them bills of exchange, he privately sends away this huge treasure, with all his jewels, tissues, and other rich merchandise, to his father's house, who lived not many leagues from this town.

Within two days after this, the Mingrelian fleet made a descent at Isgaou, sacked it, carried away two thousand captives, and went to their vessels again.

Pachicour, who knew how to make an advantage of this opportunity, privately fled after his wealth, as soon as the Mingrelian fleet appeared before the place; and it happened, that most of his creditors were made slaves, and transported to Mingrelia. He had no need to take any farther care, but how to secure his riches from his pilfering neighbours; for the Circassians are all professed thieves. He, therefore, makes haste to his father, and, having gratified him for his trouble, he, in a short time, purchased four men of war, with which he sets up for a pirate, infesting those seas, and robbing all the merchants, except those who had formerly entrusted him. His bounty and valour charmed all that served him, and his fame spreading with his wonderful success, many Circassians put out to sea, and joined with him; so that, in a little time, he made no small figure in the kingdom of Neptune. Seeing himself commander of a powerful navy, he found out quickly the Mingrelian fleet, and, engaging with them, got a glorious victory.

Soon after a peace was concluded, and Pachicour was declared admiral of all the Circassian sea-forces; to whom the Mingrelians were obliged by treaty to join theirs, and to obey Pachicour's orders. In a little time, this fortunate general became so famous, that the Cossacs

sent to him an agent, and entered into a league, furnished out three hundred vessels, and joined the Circassian and Mingrelian fleets.

This is the bottom of the new expedition which makes so loud a noise in these parts.

Thou, who art master of the arsenal, wilt know what measures are fittest to be taken against this bold infidel, if he persists to break the peace of the most serene empire; yet, though he is an enemy, let us not envy him the praises that are due to his wit and courage. He seems to surpass the sneaking thieves of his own nation, and undertakes nothing but sovereign cheats and noble thefts, such as would pass for virtuous actions in a man of a higher birth.

I do not plead for robbery, nor take the part of an infidel; but if I had time to tell thee some heroic passages of this pirate, thou wouldest say he is worthy of a generous and favourable usage, should he become a captive. In another letter I will oblige thee with a relation, which will not be unwelcome to a man who gives not sentence with the vulgar. I had more to say on another subject, but I am interrupted. Pardon the effect of my duty to the Grand Signior.

Paris, 19th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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XV.—*To MELEC AMET, Bassa.*

THERE is news arrived here lately of the murder of the English ambassador at the Hague; his name was Dorislaus. He was sent by the new governors in England to make an alliance with the states of Holland, and to satisfy them in reference to their late proceedings against their sovereign. It is said, his negotiation would have had but



little success, in regard the Prince of Orange, who is president or chief over the states, and who married the daughter of the English King, takes to heart the untimely death of his father-in-law, and cannot be reconciled to his murderers: Yet it is to be thought, that princes are no farther touched with one another's misfortunes, than concerns their interest.

However, on the 3d day of the 5th moon, some Scots entered into the lodgings of the ambassador, and having dispatched him with several wounds, made their escape. It is not certainly known who set these assassins at work. People descant variously, as their affections bias them. Some reflect on it as a judgment justly inflicted by God, though by an unjust act of men, on one who had been a notorious promoter of his sovereign's death: Others censure it as a most impious sacrilege, in regard the persons of ambassadors are, by the law of nations, esteemed sacred and inviolable, and the injuries which they suffer are interpreted not only as done to their masters who send them, but to all mankind, as if human nature itself were wronged in the persons of public ministers.

Indeed, there is no method of establishing or conserving friendships and alliances between different nations, if their agents be not secured with an immunity from affronts and violences.

The French relate a pretty passage of one of their kings, who, before he came to the crown, being Duke of Orleans, had received very ill usage in his travels from a certain Italian lord called the Baron of Benevento. After this prince was possessed of the kingdom, the same Italian lord was sent ambassador from the Viceroy of Naples, to congratulate his accession to the throne of his ancestors. Some French courtiers, who had been witnesses of the injuries this lord had formerly done to their

master, now persuaded the king to revenge himself, by causing some gross indignities to be done him, whilst he had him in his power ; to whom the wise monarch replied, “ It becomes not the King of France to revenge on the Ambassador of Naples the injuries which the Duke of Orleans received from the Baron of Benevento.”

It is said, the English nation have demanded satisfaction of the Hollanders for the murder of their ambassador ; but were answered, “ That they themselves ought first to expiate the murder of their king.”

The Scots have revolted from the new government in England, and are yet in suspense, whether they shall set up the son of the late king, or form themselves into an independent republic : The Irish are stedfast to the interests of the crown ; and many islands in America, subject to the kings of England, have now denied all obedience to the new English government, which seems to tend towards a democracy.

There is much talk of one Cromwell, the general of the English forces in Ireland. This man, from a private and obscure estate, is ascended to the dignity of a general, having purchased this command by his conduct and valour. The French extol him for the greatest foldier of this age, and, if Fame be true, he is no less statesman.

As a mark of the respect I owe thee, thou wilt receive with this letter, a pistol of curious workmanship, which, being once charged, will deliver six bullets one after another. If thou acceptest this small present, it will be an argument of thy friendship.

Paris, 19th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1649.

XVI.—*To the Venerable MUFTI.*

I HAVE often wondered at the lethargy wherein the Nazarenes seem to be drowned. They forget what they read in their own bibles; they there encounter with expressions which favour of the East. Every page of the written law relishes of the dialect which is pure and lively, though the translators have cropped the flower of the sense. I have read their bible in Greek, Latin, and French, but none of these languages express to the life the original Hebrew, nor can it be expected. It is impossible to screw up the dull phrases of Europe to the significant idioms of Asia. We may as well expect dates to spring from a reed; and, for that reason, it is forbidden the true faithful to translate the volume of light from the original Arabic, which is no other than Hebrew in its ancient purity.

This is the language of those who dwell above the seventh orb: It is the dialect wherein God converses with the pages of his divine seraglio, wherein all the records of the celestial empire are writ; and, when he issues out orders to the ministers and bassas of heaven, Hasmariel, the secretary of the immortal divan, uses no other character or speech, but that which is peculiar on earth to the sons of Ismael, the inhabitants of the region on the east of the Red Sea. In fine, this is the language wherein the Omnipotent thought fit to discover his pleasure to mortals.

Believe Mahmut, when he tells thee with profound submission, that he has taken some pains to pry into those languages which have been the channels of divine knowledge. I have been peculiarly ambitious to study the anatomy of Oriental words; and it would be no hyperbole to say, I have learned to dissect even the very syl-

lables, wherein the various placing of points and letters alters the sense, or at least makes it ambiguous. So significant and mysterious are our sacred characters.

I speak not this in peevishness, or to vindicate myself from the contempt which Ikingi Cap'-Oglani has put upon me. I have no emulation in that point; nor can any little spur of pedantic ambition make me forward to contend with a man, whose whole talent consists in knowing and remembering other mens works; as if he had studied at Athens only for this end, to learn the facetious art of turning his brains into a catalogue of books. But I reflect on the learned among the Nazarenes, who are chiefly to blame, having the custody of the book delivered to them from the Jews: And among them the translators of that volume are past excuse, for they have deflowered the original, and robbed the virgin language of its beauty and honour, whilst the rest are witnesses and silent abettors of the rape, in concealing the indignity that has been done to the letters formed by the finger of God, and full of divine mysteries.

In thus accusing the Christian interpreters of the bible, I do not patronise the critical whimsies of the Jewish cabbalists. They are exploded by all men of sense; yet there is a medium between the excess of that affected niceness, which has rendered the one ridiculous, and of that studied carelessness to which the obscurity of the other is owing. As the Hebrews, by pressing the letters too close, have squeezed out divine chimeras, so the Christians, in using too slack a hand, have scarce gained a gross draught of common human sense, leaving the genuine elixir of the writer's meaning behind.

I will not lay much to the charge of the translators employed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt. These were no Christians, nor yet in the number of those

who adored the celestial bodies and elements ; nor did any of them pay their devotions at the same altar with that Egyptian monarch, who was a worshipper of the god Serapis ; but they were Jews, seventy, or two more in number, as the tradition goes. And being every one commanded severally to translate those manuscripts, which the Jews esteemed the oracles of God, without conversing with or seeing each other, it is said their versions all agreed to a syllable.

This is the story of the Jews, and seems to be credited by the Christians ; yet some have found many errors and incongruities in that celebrated copy ; and it is easy for an impartial eye, especially in the head of an Oriental, to spy many more.

But the Latin, which they call the vulgar translation, is full of mistakes ; and the pretended saint who made it, should have gone farther than Palestine for his intelligence in ancient Hebrew. His name, if I mistake not, was Hieronymus ; he passed many years in a cell, near the supposed tomb of the Christians Messiah in the Holy Land ; where, they say, he was inspired with the knowledge of Hebrew, and from thence ventured upon a translation of the Old Testament.

Thou wilt not expect a certificate of these things from Mahmut, who only tells thee what he has read in Christian authors, whom they call the historians of their church.

But I can assure thee, it was no spirit of the East assisted this ecclesiastic in his version ; for he comes far short of rightly rendering the lofty hyperboles, apposite similitudes, elegant figures, and other ornaments of speech peculiar to the writings of those who first see the rising sun. Such are all those penned in the East ; from which we must not exclude the manuscript of Moses, and the



rest of the Hebrew prophets, poets, historians, and philosophers. Of these does the Old Testament consist, except one book wrote by my countryman Job, who five times foiled the devil in so many set combats before God.

What shall I say then of the translations that have been made of their Bible in other languages, not so copious and significant as the Latin?

Since the division arose between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, their Bible has been taught to speak the dialect of all, or most nations in Europe. Yet such is the unhappiness of the Franks, that the more they tamper with the language of great purity, the worse they succeed; which has occasioned some learned men, as I am informed, to mark above a thousand faults in the last French version of that mysterious book.

What room will they leave for the censures of the Mussulmans, if the Christians themselves are thus critical upon the grand patent of their salvation?

It would be an endless task to recount all the errors that may be discerned in the various translations of the Bible, by any man that has conversed in the East; neither will I intrench on thy patience, to gain the character of a critic.

Permit me to glance only on the psalter, or the odes of Sultan David. How flat and dull are the measures of the Christian translators? How low have they sunk the sense of that royal poet? He never began to warble forth any of those divine songs, until first inspired by a seraph, whom he had lured down from paradise by the melody of his harp. That seraph was master of the music above, as the Hebrew doctors teach. Every time David played on his instrument, Ariel (for so was the spirit called) made his descent, and sung with a grace



which cannot be expressed. The docile poet soon learned both his notes and words. Seven hundred times David touched his harmonious strings, and so often the angel stood by him with the book of the choir. He taught seven hundred sonnets that are chanted by the lovers in paradise ; but the devil stole them from the king, whilst he was gazing on another man's wife, bathing herself in an adjoining garden.

Yet there are above an hundred hymns remaining, which David composed by memory out of the former ; but some sects among the Christians have turned them to the ballads of the vulgar.

So have they dealt with that surpassing poem of Solomon, taught him by the etherial tutor of his father. For Ariel was enamoured of one of the virgins of paradise, at the same time that Solomon enjoyed Pharaoh's daughter, and had newly built for her a seraglio of cedar. The heavenly lover, therefore, to accommodate himself to the passion of the mortal, taught him one of the pastorals of Eden, a song peculiar to his own amour.

But the Nazarenes have turned it to a dry and insignificant allegory, by their glosses ; putting an affront also upon rhetoric and poetry, in wording their translation.

If I should go on and number the mistakes they have made in the writings of the prophets, and other books of the Old Testament, though it were but in this general manner, I should tire thee out ; but to recount the particulars would be a thirteenth task for Hercules.

Yet, after all these defaults of the learned, neither they nor the ignorant can be excused from wilful blindness, in shutting their eyes against the twilight which appears in the worst translation, and is sufficient to direct any man

to the East, where Wisdom shines in her perfect splendour.

There are expressions all over the scriptures, which point to the laws, customs, habits, diet, and manner of life, used in the regions first visited by the morning sun. These are the same now as they were of old; and the mussulmans of this age observe no other rule of life, but what was practised by the patriarch Ibrahim, above three thousand years ago, and by all the faithful of those times. Our marriages, circumcisions, funerals, prayers, washings, and all other ceremonies of religion or civility, are the same now as then; there is nothing added or diminished, save the faith and obedience we owe to Mahomet, the ambassador of God, and to the volume put into his hands by Gabriel, prince of the divine messengers.

Our very habits, and the manner of our building, our salutations and whole address, are the same at this day, as the Scripture tells us were in use in those ages next after the flood, among the patriarchs and prophets, and among all the true believers, the posterity of Ibrahim, especially the descendants by the right line, the stem of Ismael, the eldest son of him who entertained three angels at once in his tent.

Yet the infidels will not consider it, but persuade themselves they are the only children of the faithful Ibrahim, pretending to practise, in I know not what figurative sense, the life we lead in truth; cheating themselves with empty symbols, while we enjoy the substance.

But thou, great successor of Ibrahim and the prophets, vouchsafe to pray for Mahmut, that whilst his duty to the Grand Signior obliges him to dwell here in the West, and to converse with none but infidels, he may still retain the faith of the East, the devotion of an Ismaelite, and the purity of a true believer; still crying in

his heart even in the temples of the infidels, there is but one God, and Mahomet his messenger.

Paris, 5th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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XVII.—*To the CHIAUS BASSA.*

THE peace agreed on last year, between the Germans and Swedes, is not yet fully established and confirmed. There has been a cessation of arms since that time, and now the Duke of Amalfi, on the emperor's side, the Duke of Vandort for the King of France, and he of Erskin, for the crown of Swedeland, are met at Norimberg, to conclude a final ratification of the articles.

During this consult, the Swedish army are permitted by the emperor's agreement to quarter up and down in seven circles of the empire, and not to be discharged till all their arrears are paid at the cost of the Germans. It is said it will amount to three millions of sequins. This war has lasted near thirty years; in which above three hundred thousand men have lost their lives.

As to the English affairs, the prevailing party there have declared that ancient kingdom to be a free state, and the monarchy is abolished by a public act. Nevertheless, after Charles was beheaded, his eldest son was proclaimed king, both in England and Ireland, by some of the nobles and gentry that were friends to that royal family; and in Ireland, a certain great duke appeared at the head of a numerous army, in behalf of the young king's interest, having laid siege to the metropolis of that kingdom, which, with one other town, were the only strong holds that resisted the king's party. But in the 8th moon, the army which the English states had newly sent over to that island, engaged with the forces of this

duke, entirely routed them, killing two thousand men on the spot, and taking many thousand prisoners, with all their ammunition and baggage. This, being seconded with other victories, in a short time reduced that kingdom under the obedience of the English states.

In the mean time I hear no pleasing news from the Levant. Vessels daily arrive in the havens of France, who confirm each others relations of a dreadful naval combat between our fleet and that of the Venetians, wherein, they say, we have lost seventy-two galleys, threescore merchant vessels, and eighteen ships of war; that, in this fight, six thousand five hundred muskumans have lost their lives, and near ten thousand were taken prisoners.

I tell thee, these are great breaches in the navy, which, belonging to the lord of the sea and land, has assumed to itself the epithet of Invincible. These are blemishes in the ensigns of high renown, reproaches to the empire, which we believe is to subdue all nations. I reflect not on the courage, or conduct of the captain bassa; neither am I willing to help forward the ruin of a man, who cannot expect to be honoured with a vest, a sword, or any other marks of the sultan's favour, for his service in this sea campaign. I am naturally compassionate. It is not in my praise I speak it; for I believe this tenderness to be rather a vice of my constitution, than to have any rank in the morals, much less to be of kin to the family of virtues. I pity a man falling into disgrace, on whom the weather of the seraglio changes, from which he must expect nothing but clouds and storms. Those tempests will prove more fatal to him than any that ever tossed his fleet on the ruffled ocean. In all probability, he will suffer a shipwreck of his for-

tune, if not of his life ; therefore it is with extreme regret I must say that which may hasten his fall.

But I am commanded not to conceal any intelligence that relates to the interest of the Sublime Porte, nor to spare the son of my mother, if I know him guilty of criminal practices.

All that I have to lay to the charge of the *bassa* of the sea, is a private correspondence which he holds with Cardinal Mazarini. This I discovered by the assistance of a dwarf, whom I have often mentioned in my letters to the *grande*s of the Porte. I need not repeat to thee what I have said already to them, of the birth, education, and genius of *Osmin* (for so is the little spark called), nor of the method I have put him upon, to wind himself into the secrets of the public ministers ; only thou mayest report to the *divan*, that this diminutive man continues to pursue his advantages of access to the closets of the French ministers, whereof I gave an account last year, in a letter to *Chiurgi Muhammet Bassa*.

Thou mayest assure them also, that when he was yesterday in the chamber of Cardinal Mazarini, he cast his eye on a letter which lay open on the table, whilst the cardinal was in earnest discourse with an extraordinary courier from Rome. He had not opportunity to read more than the superscription, and a line or two of the matter, which contained these words :

‘ The mild Commander, the Humble Shadow of the bright Star of the Sea, *BILAL*, Captain *Bassa* ;

“ To the Most Illustrious Prince of the Kingdom of the Messiah, eminent among the High Lords of Holy Honour, the Sublime Director of the People of Jesus, Assistant to the Chair of Sovereign Dignity, the Seat



of the Roman Caliph, JULIO MAZARINI, Cardinal, and our Friend; may whose latter days increafe in happinefs.

“ THY affectionate letter and presents were delivered safe to me, as I lay at anchor with the fleet under my command, not far from the island of Chios; and, as a mark of my acknowledgment and good-will to thee and all the Nazarenes, I embraced in my arms the noble captain, Signior Antonio Maratelli, who had the honour to be trusted with this negotiation. I immediately disrobed myself, and caused that brave Italian, thy messenger, to be vested with my own garment, as a pledge of——”

Before Osmin could read farther, the cardinal approached the table, and took up the letter, letting fall some words to the courier, by which the dwarf was confirmed in his suspicion of the bassa's perfidiousness, and that this letter newly came from him. He posted immediately to give me an account of this passage; believing it to be, as it is, of great import; for he has a singular regard for the family, which first exterminated the Greeks from Constantinople.

Thou knowest what use to make of this intelligence. I am not cruelly inclined, but I must do my duty. The rest I refer to thy prudence.

I will only advertise thee of one farther remark of Osmin, who, by comparing what he has seen now, with a discourse he once before over-heard between Mazari-ni and a French nobleman, whilst he lay under the Cardinal's table (which I have inserted in one of my letters), concludes, that the bassa there mentioned by the Cardinal, was this same Bilal Bassa, who was, at the instance of the janizaries, made bassa of the sea.



I could not, without making myself an accomplice, conceal so foul an ingratitude to the Grand Signior, and so villanous a treason against the empire, which holds the first rank among all the dominions on earth.

Paris, 24th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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XVIII.—*To CARA HALI, Physician to the Grand Signior.*

WE have had a violent hot summer in these parts, with much thunder and lightning, which has done considerable damage to the farmers, in burning their hay and corn in their granaries. Complaints arrive here daily from all the provinces, that Heaven has consumed their harvests.

This the court party interpret as a judgment on them for their rebellions ; causing it to be industriously spread about in all companies, that Heaven is angry with the inhabitants of Guyenne, Bourdeaux, and other provinces, for taking up arms this year against their sovereign. I know not how far this censure is justifiable ; but it is observed, that the people of these rebellious provinces have received more apparent and irreparable injuries by the lightning, than those of other parts. Several members of the parliament of Aix were found dead in their beds, after a tempestuous night of lightning ; and next day, the roof of the house where they assembled fell down, and killed several.

In the great church of Bourdeaux, as they were celebrating their mass, a ball of fire broke in from behind the altar, smote down several images, and filling the church with an intolerable stink, flew out at a window, without doing any farther harm ; and a great bank of money, raised by this city to pay their soldiers, was all melted down by lightning, to the astonishment of those

who saw it ; for it was done in the day-time, the grantees of Bourdeaux being present. It would be endless to recount all the mischiefs that have been done in those parts. We had no great harm here, save that almost all the wine in the city was turned to a kind of vinegar in one night ; which the philosophers attribute to the peculiar energy of lightning, which plays the chymist with this liquor, and in a moment separates, and drinks up its vital spirits, leaving only a *mortuum caput* behind.

The season has been so hot during the dog-days, that the air itself seemed combustible ; and the very winds, from whence we looked for refreshment, were like the breath of a stove.

All things seemed ready to take fire, as if the elements waited for the grand conflagration ; heat was the cry every where ; mens bodies were scalded with internal flames ; the shade of trees afforded no relief ; the fountains could not allay their thirst ; all nature seemed to be in a fever, ready to expire.

Now those fervours are abated, and we begin to have frosty mornings ; the nitrous air restores mens appetites ; abundance of rain has new-moulded the gaping parched earth, and produced a second spring ; the husbandman comforts himself with the hopes of another crop of hay, to repair the loss of the former, which the lightning robbed him of. In the mean time, the winds are very busy in disrobing the trees, and scattering not only their leaves, but also the fruit that is not gathered, on the ground ; whereby a banquet is prepared for the hogs in every orchard, who claim as much right to feed on what lies on the common table, as their owners ; and it is no unpleasant music to hear a herd of swine set their teeth at work on the windfallen apples ; at least this spectacle and noise is delightful to me, who have been without appetite these

three moons, and but just begin to recover my stomach. I often ride out of Paris, on purpose to take the country air, where my bread tastes more favourily than in the city. There appears something so harmless and innocent in the faces and behaviour of the rustics, as effectually relieves my melancholy ; I cannot discern in them any signatures of court craft and villany ; their conversation cheers my spirits ; I love to hear them talk of their rural affairs ; my eye follows the ploughmen with envy ; then I could wish it had been my lot to have been bred up in some homely cottage, where I might have tended oxen, sheep, or asses ; all which act regularly according to their nature : whereas he that is the servant of princes, is compelled to do many things contrary to his reason, which is the greatest unhappiness that can befall a man. How sweet is the sleep of the husbandman by night, and how void is his mind of embittering cares by day ? he rises with the lark, and is as cheerful as that pretty bird ; saluting Aurora with a song, or a lesson on his pipe, he snuffs up the wholesome and fragrant dew of the morning ; as he walks over the lands, he beholds, with admiration and pleasure, the gilded clouds and tops of mountains ; when the sun comes forth of his bed-chamber in the east, he spurs himself on to his daily labour, by the example of that active planet, following his work with content and joy ; his food is pleasant both in his mouth and his belly ; he feels no after pangs through satiety ; but, well refreshed and nourished with his homely diet, he lies down with the lamb, and sleeps in peace, never dreaming of state intrigues, or the plots of the mighty. Thus he passes his life in a circle of delights.

Tell me, dear Hali, are not these proper objects of envy to a man in my circumstances ? or, canst thou blame Mahmut, who has neither health of body nor peace of

mind, for wishing himself in a condition which would entitle him to both? I am entangled in a thousand snares; my employment is a perfect riddle; I must say and unsay the same things as often as occasion requires; I must tell an hundred lies, swear and forswear myself every hour, if the interest of the Grand Signior be at stake; I must be a Mahometan, Christian, Jew, or any thing that will serve a turn; dissemble with God and man; blaspheme the prophets; curse the true believers and myself too, rather than baulk the cause I am engaged in: and yet, all this while they will persuade me I am a good man, and shall go to paradise; as if the Mufti's dispensations were available to cancel the express positive law of God! Do they think to amuse me with such umbrages, and send me muzzled to hell, with my eyes open? I tell thee, I have a conscience, and such a conscience as will not let me be at rest in this manner of life. It were better to die, than to live stained with so many prevarications. I know not what to do amidst so many terrors; I feel my body decay apace, and hastening towards its dissolution. What will become of me, if I should die under the burden of so many sins? What answer shall I be able to make to the two inquisitors of the grave, the angels who shall examine me, Who is my God, and Who is my prophet, and What is my faith? the darkness of that region of shadows will not be sufficient to hide my blushes, and the confusion I shall be in at so pressing a trial.

All my comfort is, that I have yet friends left, to whom I may freely vent my thoughts, and ask their counsel.

If thou hast any remains of that friendship that has been between us, weigh my case thoroughly, and tell me whether I am not lost for ever, without a change of

life. Flatter me not, neither use the artifices of civility, in palliating my crimes, but search my wounds, and give me thy advice without a veil, and Mahmut shall esteem thee the physician of his soul.

Paris, 24th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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XIX.—*To KENAN BASSA, Chief Treasurer to his Highness at Constantinople.*

IF I have not addressed to thee before, attribute it to my ignorance of thy quality and person. As soon as I heard of thy advancement to this important trust, I resolved to salute thee, as becomes a slave in my post, and to wish thee all the happiness thou canst desire. Yet, when I congratulate thy rise, remember I do but welcome thee to a precipice, a mere pinnacle of fortune, where thou hast no reason to expect secure footing: the blast of an envious mouth will make thee totter; thou breathest in an element full of tempests; the sly practices of a rival may undermine thee, or the more open frowns of thy sovereign may cast thee down; thou art ever liable to the malice of the vulgar, and not a little in danger of thy own weakness, the inseparable companion of humanity. If thou shouldest once look with disdain on those that are beneath thee, the vast distance and height of the prospect may make thee giddy; therefore it will be good for thee to have thy eyes always fixed on thyself; that will prove the best chart, by which to steer thy course through the rocks and sands which on all hands threaten the life of a courtier. It will not be amiss also to place before thee the examples of wise men, thy predecessors. There is a greater force in these, than in the



best counsels, because matter of fact leaves no room for distrust; whereas men are naturally jealous of those who pretend to instruct them. We are all fond of our own reason and judgment, and are apt to suspect him of some design, who seeks to persuade us, though to our good: besides, there is a species of pride, a punctilio of honour in mortals, which will hardly permit us to yield ourselves in a condition to need another's advice; whence comes the Arabian proverb, which says, "A man profits more by the sight of an idiot, than by the orations of the learned." We all love to make our own experiments, and sooner trust any sense than our ears; therefore the Lacedemonians caused their slaves to be made drunk in the presence of their children, that, from the squalidness of the spectacle, they might conceive a hatred against that vice, which, by all the instructions in the world, they would never learn to abhor.

The crimes of some in thy station have more of sobriety in them, but less honesty. Wonder not at the expression, nor accuse me of impudence. I reflect only on the wicked; number not thyself among them.

Thou knowest it has been an ancient custom for our renowned emperors to divert themselves, at certain times, with the sight of their inestimable treasury. I am no stranger to the ceremonies used at such times; one would think it impossible, amidst so much caution, that the Grand Signior should be defrauded of the least part of his wealth. I do not speak of the chamber of arms, or those others which make up the imperial wardrobe. The bulk and weight of those rich velvet brocades, and other furniture of gold and silver, discourages the theft. But who can number the robberies that have been committed among the jewels, and invaluable rarities of the mysterious closet? It has been found easy to conceal and tran-



sport from thence whole beds of diamonds, and chains of pearl, undiscovered, I will not say unsuspected, at the times when Anackdar-Agafi gives three knocks on the cabinet of the keys.

These are hours of munificence and royal bounty, when the august Lord of the Mines is pleased to gratify his slaves with gifts, and make them sensible they serve him, who commands this upper world, and that underneath.

No prince can discommend this domestic sport of our sovereign, when he makes his pages scramble for diamonds and rubies, since it gives him a taste of his own humanity ; nothing being more agreeable, in cases on this side of amorous jealousy, than to let others partake of our pleasures : and it is the peculiar delight of kings, sometimes to lay aside their state and grandeur, to be familiar with their attendants, making them their companions, or at least their proxies, in many enjoyments.

But it is pity this favour should be abused, as it has been, in the instance I mentioned. Thou art no stranger to the records of the Hafna, which tells us, that when Gelep Chiaus Bassa was made chief treasurer, in the reign of Sultan Mustapha, the lucre of the glittering jewels had tempted him to defraud his master to the value of five hundred thousand sequins, which, upon the information of three pages, and a diligent search, were found in his trunks.

It has been whispered also, that few have enjoyed that office, who have not purloined something from the imperial coffers. They say it is an hereditary theft, delivered by tradition from one to another ; every Hafnadar-bassi being advanced to that honour by the recommendation of his predecessor, for the service he has done him

in conniving at these practices, which cannot be hid from any of the sixty who guard the royal wealth.

Thou canst not blame me for putting thee in mind of these things, in regard I am commanded to write with all freedom to the sublime ministers, whatever concerns the interest of our great master.

I have no more to say, but to desire thee, in transmitting what money is appointed for me, to be timely and punctually, to send duplicates by different posts, that, if one should miscarry, I may not be at a loss; for there is no credit for a mussulman in Paris. Eliachim would supply me with what may suffice a dervich; but it belongs to thee to take care that I want not what is requisite for an agent of the Grand Signior.

Paris, 22d of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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XX.—*To PESTELI HALI, his Brother.*

I UNWILLINGLY concluded my last letter, before I had vented half my thoughts on those oriental subjects, so full of instruction and pleasure. Thy journal is become my pocket companion; I carry it with me to the gardens and solitudes, and even to the libraries and churches, to which last I am obliged to go sometimes, that I may avoid suspicion.

The Christians, when they enter the most delightful gardens of Paris, spend their time, and weary themselves in walking forward and backward; they will measure several leagues in traversing one alley; which vain custom, thou knowest, is contrary to the practice of the eastern people, who love to solace themselves, in sitting still under the cool shades, and feeding their eyes with the grateful verdure of trees, their noses with the fragrant smell

of herbs and flowers, and their ears with the pretty melody of the birds ; all which serve as helps to their contemplation.

After this manner I many times pass away some hours in the gardens of this city, whereof there are great plenty ; and when I am cloyed with the forementioned pleasures, then I take out thy journal, and fall to reading, which winds up my thoughts afresh, like a watch that is down ; nay, it opens new sources of contemplation, and serves as a miraculous talisman to bring China, India, and all the east into the place where I am, so lively and natural are thy discourses of those parts.

When I am in the churches it serves me instead of a prayer-book ; and, whilst others are babbling over they know not what, or at least they care not what, I offer up to God the first-fruit of my reason and knowledge, which he has given me to distinguish me from all sorts of beasts, whether in human shape or not.

When I go to the libraries, I compare thy journal with the writings of others who treat of the same matters, and find, that thou agreeest with some, correctest the mistakes of others, and in all, showest a genius elevated above all others of the common historians and travellers, who seek rather to amuse the reader with uncouth stories and adventures, than to instruct him with what is really useful and profitable.

Thus thy journal is become the companion of my solitudes, the object of my studies, and the help to my devotions abroad ; and it is no less the diversion of my retirement and melancholy at home. I am a great admirer of antiquity ; and therefore an old craggy rock, overgrown with moss, and full of gaping chasms, is a more agreeable sight to me, than the flowery meadows or verdant groves ; because the former looks like a reliet of the

primitive chaos, whereas I know the latter to be only the product of the last spring. It is for this reason thy narrative affords me so vast a delight, because it treats of the most ancient kingdoms and governments in the world; and is not stuffed with chimeras and fables, as most relations of those countries are, but gives a sincere and true account of whatever is considerable, without touching on impertinences.

But above all, I am delighted with that part which relates thy travels in China; that country being of so vast an extent, so rich, so populous, the people so industrious, learned, and politic (besides the antiquity of their empire, which cannot in that point be matched by any government under the heavens), that the exact knowledge of these things seems to me of greater moment than any other discoveries whatsoever.

What thou sayest of the Chinese letters and words shows that thou hast made some inspection into that language; and thy remarks on the long succession and series of their kings, is an argument that thou art no stranger to their chronology, which takes in many thousands of years before Noah's flood. Thou art very exact in enumerating their public tribunals and courts of justice, as also in describing some remarkable bridges, temples, palaces, and other structures, which serves to give the reader a true idea of the magnificence and grandeur of the Chinese emperors, and of the ingenuity of the people, who seem to excel all others in arts and sciences. In a word, it is evident that thou didst not pass thy time with thy arms folded whilst thou wert in that kingdom. And I know not how better to express the esteem I have for thee on account of the pains thou hast taken to inform both thyself and me in matters of so great importance, than by giving thee an account of what progress the Tar-

tars have made in the conquest of that empire since thy return to Constantinople. In my last, I acquainted thee with the coronation of the Tartar king at Peking; since which, other vessels are arrived from those parts, which bring an account that the young Tartarian conqueror soon pushed forward his victories; and marching with an army into Corea (which kingdom, thou knowest, borders on China), the king of that country made his submissions, and entering into a league with Zunchi, held his crown in fee of that victorious emperor.

Afterwards he hastened to subdue the provinces which remained unconquered. His method in accomplishing this great work was by swift marches, like another Alexander the Great; and by laying siege to the principal city of a province, which he never failed either to take by force, or compelled to surrender, that so they might escape famine; and, when this was done, he took possession both of it and the whole province, summoning the cities of lesser note to surrender, which they seldom refused after they had beheld the fate of the first. Thus, in a little time, he became master of all that spacious empire.

The fame of his success quickly brought innumerable Tartars out of their native country to follow the fortune of their emperor. To these he gave the chief offices in his army, and continued the Chinese in the administration of civil affairs; and, as a token of their subjection, he commanded all the Chinese to cut their hair short, and to clothe themselves after the fashion of the Tartars.

They give a high character of this young prince, who, amidst so many successes and triumphs, discovers not the least vain-glory, but contains himself within the bounds of a virtuous moderation, ascribes all to the decrees of destiny, and is not in the least puffed up with any of his



glorious actions, which is an argument of a spirit truly heroic. And yet this prince is an idolater, as are all the Tartars of that nation ; or rather, they are men of no religion, which makes their morals the more admirable ; for, according to the relation of those who came last from China, the Tartars are a very temperate and continent people, abhorring those vices which are but too common in other parts of the world, and from which the true believers themselves are not free. They are rigorously just also, and punish all manner of fraud and deceit with immediate death. As for their conduct and courage in the wars, there is no nation surpasses them, few are their equals ; they are passionate lovers of an active life, spending most of their time on horseback, either in hunting wild beasts, or fighting with their enemies ; and their horses are the best and most courageous in the world. There is nothing the Tartars so much despise as the sedentary life of students and learned men, accounting them the burden of a commonwealth, lazy drones, fit only to be sold for slaves ; but men of service and merit in the wars they have in great esteem, never failing to reward such with dignities and commands proportionable to their deserts and capacities. Nay, such is the martial genius of this nation, that the very women ride to the wars with the men, and perform exploits above what is expected from that soft and delicate sex. Both men and women are habituated from their infancy to live in tents or waggons, there being very few cities in all Tartary ; there they are inured to hunger, cold, thirst, and all the methods of a frugal and hardy life ; this is that which renders them excellent soldiers, and a terror to all the nations round about them ; this is that which so soon reduced all China to their obedience, the Chinese, among all their virtues and accomplishments, being the most ef-



feminate people on earth. This, no doubt, thou hast observed.

Brother, I advise thee to go to Kerker Hassan bassa, our countryman, and present to him these observations on the Tartars, which thou mayest easily do, by transcribing what is for thy turn out of this letter. He inherits his father's genius, who, thou knowest, was one of the greatest hunters in all Arabia, and had a character not much different from what I have here given thee of the Tartars. That bassa will take great delight in these memoirs, and will think himself obliged to make thee some proper acknowledgment. He is generous and great, and it lies in his power to promote thee. I have writ to him already, and have given him an encomium of thy ability. I will second it with another letter, in answer to one I lately received from him, wherein he desires a farther account of China. I will inform him therefore of several passages out of thy journal. He, no doubt, to make a farther trial of thy knowledge, will ask thee several questions relating to these matters; so shalt thou have a fair opportunity of rendering thyself conspicuous, and of gaining his esteem. Follow my advice; take time by the forelock, and the event shall prove happy.

Paris, 8th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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### XXI.—To KERKER HASSAN, *Bassa*.

I RECEIVED thy commands, and am proud of the honour thou hast done me in requiring the smallest service at my hands, especially one of this nature, which is an argument that my former relation of China was acceptable to thee. This I account my honour and happiness, that I have a brother who has made such considerable improve-

ments in his travels ; for it is to him I owe the knowledge I have of that country, and the other parts of the East. As for my cousin Isouf, he would never vouchsafe to send me a syllable relating to his travels, though he had rambled throughout all Asia.

I desired this favour of him in several letters, but have received no answer, so that I know not whether he be dead or alive. My friends are very backward in writing to me ; and, unless it be some of the ministers of state, who sometimes honour me with a dispatch, though very rarely, I hardly receive a letter from my familiar friends and relations in twenty moons, which makes me conclude, that absence of so long a date has quite blotted me out of their minds.

As to what thou desirest farther to know concerning China, my brother says, that empire contains 4400 walled towns and cities ; 3000 castles and towers of defence on the frontiers, wherein are always garrisoned a million of soldiers, who are relieved at due times by others of equal number. There are a million also constantly kept in pay to guard the governors of provinces, ambassadors, and other officers of state ; the Emperor of China maintaining five hundred thousand horse to attend his person. All this is in time of peace. But, upon any revolt or invasion, the forces are innumerable. There are in China 331 bridges, remarkable for their strength and magnificence beyond all others in the world ; 2099 mountains ; lakes and medicinal fountains 1472 ; 1159 triumphal arches and other monuments, erected in honour of valiant and learned men ; 272 libraries, abounding with all manner of excellent books ; temples 300,000, and as many priests, besides the convents of their religious. They reverence 3036 male saints, and 208 female ; all which have temples dedicated to their honour, besides those

which are consecrated to the sun, moon, and stars, fire, air, earth, and water, and to the heavens, which comprehend all, and to the celestial gods, who rule all, and to the Supreme God, creator of the worlds. In these temples they celebrate the praises of their gods and heroes with music and songs, incense and sacrifices; believing, that all things which are conspicuous for the excellency of their nature, or from which mankind receives any general or extraordinary benefit, ought to be worshipped with divine honours. In this they differ not from the ancient pagans of Greece and Rome, who had almost as many gods and goddesses as there were several creatures in the world, so that there was no beginning nor ending of their superstitions; and the most learned and contemplative of their priests found the ceremonies of their religion to be an inextricable labyrinth, where they were often lost. Certainly happy are the faithful musfulmans, who adore but one God, the fountain of the universe, without entangling themselves in the absurdities of infidels.

The Chinese are great admirers of themselves, and their own nation; believing, that no people can stand in competition with them for learning, wisdom, and riches. They have a very contemptible idea of all other countries, with their inhabitants, esteeming them either as idiots or monsters.

This conceitedness is owing to their ignorance of the rest of the world, for they seldom or never travel beyond the limits of their own empire.

I could say a great deal more of this people, but it will be better for thee to hear it from my brother, who has been there, and can give thee ample satisfaction in all things relating to that empire. I have wrote to him to go and kiss the dust before thy feet. If thou makest

trial of his abilities, thou wilt find him improved by his travels, a man fit for business, and one in whom thou mayest confide, which is a virtue never enough to be prized in these corrupt times.

In these things, however, mingle thy own discretion, with the kindness of a countryman, and the affection of a friend.

Paris, 8th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1649.

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## XXII.—To CORNEZAN, *Bassa*.

WERE Ovid alive, the events of this year would afford him matter for new fictions. He would either tell us, that the goddess of love had set a spell upon Mars, and charmed him into good nature, or, that he had drank so large a draught of Nepenthe, as had made him forget his old trade of embroiling mortals in war. However it be, Hymen seems to have the greatest share in this year's actions; for, instead of battles and sieges, the Nazarene princes have been engaged in encounters of a softer character, the gentle affairs of love and marriage.

In the first moon, the new King of Poland, whom they call John Casimir, married the widow of his deceased brother: In the ninth, the Prince of Hainault espoused the Duke of Holstein's daughter: And the last moon was remarkable for two matches; one of the King of Spain, with Anna Maria, the German Emperor's daughter; the other of the Duke of Mantua with Isabella Clara of Austria.

These are all brushing forward in the crowd of the living: they are busy in augmenting the generations of men, whilst others of as high blood are gone to increase

the number of the dead, being enrolled amongst the ghosts, and made denizens in the region of shadows.

The Empress of Germany died in the fifth moon; the Duke of Braganza in the ninth; the Duchess of Modena in the eighth; and a certain German Prince, whose name I have forgot, died in the moon of October. Besides these, death has also arrested Ossalmski, the great chancellor of Poland; Wrangel, general of the Swedish army; Frederic, the German ambassador at Rome; Ferdinand, Elector of Cologne; and the Viceroy of Bohemia, who was by his enemies thrown out of a window, and his brains dashed out; so that though Mars may have seemed to lie dormant this year, yet his companion in mischief, old Saturn, has been very active, as the astrologers say, who attribute all events to the influx of the stars. Some are also of opinion, that the eclipses of the sun and moon, this year, were presages of the death of these great persons. They might as well plead, that the daily rising and setting of those luminaries portended all the tragical events that happened on earth; since it is not more natural for them to continue unalterably moving from east to west, than it is for them to be obscured, at certain determined stations, in their journey, by interpositions which happen of course.

We are strangers to the chronologies of the Chinese and Indian Gentiles: Neither can any good account be now given of the ancient Egyptian and Assyrian records. They run many ages back beyond the common epocha of the beginning of the world.

But the whole system of known history relates but two extraordinary or preternatural changes in the course of the sun during these six thousand years.

One, when that luminary stood still in the time of Jehoshua, general of the Israelites, to serve the ends of



destiny, and prolong the light of the day to a double proportion, till the opposite army was quite destroyed, and not one of the uncircumcised could escape the swords of the victorious sons of Jacob.

That day proved a long night to their antipodes : They turned themselves in their beds, when they had out slept the usual hours of night, and said in their hearts, “ Surely the sun is fallen asleep, or is banqueting with the gods of the sea : Perhaps Thetis detains him in her embraces, whilst the tritons fasten his slumbers with their softest music ; or Neptune regales in the palaces of the deep.” Thus the disconsolate nations argued in their chambers ; they were alarmed with fears of unknown events.

Such as dwelt on the borders of the earth, and were accustomed to mark the constant ebbing and flowing of the sea, admired the delay of the usual tides, and asked, what was become of the moon ? for that planet also stood still with the sun.

The light of their souls was eclipsed, and their reason laboured under a greater darkness than that which troubled their eyes. They were ignorant of the works of God ; and knew not that the celestial orbs stood still at the command of the spirit which formed them, even at the word of the prophet inspired from above.

So in the days of Hezekiah, King of the Jews, the sun went back in his circuit, and all the frame of Heaven was retrograde, to confirm the prophet’s good news, when he told the sick king, that Fate had prolonged his life for fifteen years. This was in the days of Merodach Baladan, the King of Babylon, who sent ambassadors to congratulate Hezekiah’s miraculous recovery.

Besides these, nothing has happened to the sun, or any of the heavenly bodies, beyond the ordinary course

of Nature. A man may as well prognosticate, from cloudy weather, the calamities of emperors and meaner men, as from the eclipses of the sun and moon, since the one, as well as the other, obscures the light of those heavenly bodies ; and the former quite hides them from us, which is the greater eclipse of the two.

Let us pray Heaven to grant us the continual use of our senses, and not to eclipse the light of our reason, and we need fear no disasters from the common appearances of nature.

Paris, 7th of the Moon Chaban, of the Year 1649.

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## B O O K II.

### LETTER I.—*To MUHAMMED EREMIT, Inhabitant of the Prophetic Cave in Arabia the Happy.*

PARDON my importunity, if I this once trouble thee with an address of scruples, begging thy counsel in the affairs of my soul. I seem to myself as a traveller lost in a wilderness of doubts and uncertainties, without guide or conduct. Not that I question the truth of our holy religion, or mistrust the authority of the Sent of GOD. Certainly I revere the Book of Glory, whose sacred verses are transcribed on my heart. But there is wanting to every man a particular conduct in the intricacies of this life. I have not the art of applying the general precepts of the law to my own personal occasions and necessities. Infinite difficulties arise from my daily affairs. My conversation with infidels, and the duty I owe my great master, entangle my conscience. I am embarrassed

on all hands ; and, whilst I study to conserve purity, I find myself still defiled.

I am no heretic, nor in the number of those who are predestinated to be damned for the injurious love they bear to Hali ; injurious, I say, because it derogates from the honour they owe to Omar, Osman, and Ebubecher, the true successors of the apostle of God.

As I firmly believe the Alcoran, so I give an entire faith to the Book of Affonah, or the Agreement of the Wife, with the writings of the four principal imaums, Haniff, Schafi, Melechi, and Hambeli ; and I am resigned to the sentence of the musti, as our fathers were of old to the oraculous determinations of the Babylonian caliphs. I curse the Kyzilbaschi with as much devotion as I pray for the health and felicity of true believers. I spit at the naming of them who deny the chapter of the Covering, and the verses brought down by the Squire of Gabriel, in honour of the prophet's wife. I never lifted up my hand against any who descended from the divine messenger ; and if in my passion I have ever cursed a mussulman, I took of the dust under his feet, and laid it on my lips, before the shadow of the sun had advanced a hair's breadth ; and so I hindered the swift recorder of our words from registering the imprecation ; for that dust, I believe, has power to blot out the memorials of our evil words and works.

When I meet a Santone, or one of those divinely mad, I put in practice the lesson of Orchanes, and honouring the holy frantic, I fall down and adore virtue in that contemptible disguise.

I neglect none of the purifications commanded by our holy lawgiver, but rather add those that we Arabians have received by tradition from our fathers, the sons of Ismael ; yet, I hope, in case of neglect, some indulgence

is allowable to a mussulman in a country of infidels. I use the washing of Abdest at all times in my chamber, where no curious eye can observe my cleanliness, or suspicious apprehension draw conclusions of my being a Mahometan. But I cannot thus practise the washing of Taharet, there being not such conveniencies for that purpose in Paris as in Constantinople; yet I am careful to supply this want by other methods of purity, otherwise I should be an abomination to myself. There is no necessity that I should frequent the bath, who never touched a woman; yet I often go into the river, taking a boat with me for that end, and causing myself to be rowed half a league from the city, where, in a little bay or creek, I wash my whole body, that I may do something beyond the obligations of the law, to expiate the involuntary breaches of my duty: Yet, after all this, I can not call myself clean.

I pray at the appointed hours; or, at least, if the affairs of my commission hinder me from complying with the law as to the exact times of the day, I atone for that neglect, by watching the greatest part of the night; and, to the orisons appointed by authority, I add supererogatory prayers of my own, to evidence the sincerity of my devotion.

I fast and give alms, according to my ability; I bestow much time in reading and meditating on the Alcoran; in a word, I do all that my reason tells me is necessary to render me a good mussulman, and yet I have no peace in my mind. Methinks I see our holy Prophet frowning his brows at me, and darting angry looks from his paradise: He seems to reproach me with uncleanness and infidelity. By day my imagination troubles me, and at night I am terrified with fearful dreams, which makes me conclude, that notwithstanding all my obedience to

the law, and the strictest care I take to acquit myself a true believer, yet I am far short of my aim ; and therefore I number myself with those with whom God is displeased.

It is impossible to express the horror which this thought creates in me. I am overwhelmed sometimes with melancholy and despair ; and because I am forced to keep my grief to myself, without having the privilege of venting it to a bosom friend, it is ready to burst my heart.

This is my condition at certain seasons, which I esteem as bad, or worse than those who are doomed to Araf ; for, as they cannot enjoy the felicities of paradise, so they are secured from the torments of the damned ; whereas, for ought I know, my portion may be in hell. Wilt thou know how I redress this evil temper of mind, and what method I take to cure my melancholy ? Receive it not as flattery when I tell thee thou art my physician, and the idea of thy innocent life my medicine. When I have rolled over ten thousand thoughts, which afford me no ease or relief, no sooner do I fix my contemplation on the solitary of Mount Uriel, but a sudden beam of light and comfort glances through my soul. I promise myself greater satisfaction from thy advice, than from all the imaums and mollahs of the empire.

Tell me, therefore, O holy and pious Eremit, how I shall dissipate these mists of grief and sadness which envelop my mind, and threaten to suffocate my intellect.

If, in this darkness and confusion, I should apply myself to the disciples of Alhazan for instruction, they will puzzle me with intricate niceties about the essence and unity of God, whereas I am too much troubled already with distracting speculations. I seek not to dive into that which is incomprehensible, but to be instructed in the plain and intelligible way to happiness. What imports it



whether God be good by his goodness or by his essence? This is to throw metaphysical dust in my eyes, and so leave me in a worse condition than they found me.

No better light must I expect from the Mofcoran; for, if they are strict observers of the law, so am I, where the precepts are applicable to my condition and circumstances: But I want a direction in many emergencies, for which the Alcoran seems to have made no provision, but leaves every man to the conduct of his own prudence; and, I must confess, I dare not trust mine in all cases of this nature. Besides, instead of interpreting to me, in a plain style, the statutes of the law, they will confound me with high and unintelligible notions of the Divine attributes, which are sufficient to dazzle the intellect of the brightest seraphim; and if they could once persuade me to be zealous for their speculations, I might in time turn such another religious fool as was one of their followers, the poet Namisi, who being wrapped in his profound speculations of the Divine unity, and hearing an imaum pronounce the sacred sentence, GOD is one, gave him the lie, and told him, that he multiplied the Divinity in assigning it any attribute, though it were only that which expressed his unity; for which impudent assertion he was slayed alive.

In as bad a condition should I be if I asked the advice of the Muserin, those infidels in masquerade, who, under the disguise of mussulmans, deny the being of a God, assert all things to come by chance, and live without hope or faith of another life: For if this were true, that there were no reward or punishment of good or bad works, I would either soon make my way to earthly happiness, by not boggling at any vice that would conduce to that end; or, if I failed in that attempt, I would not tamely

wait for a martyrdom from men, but bravely rid myself of a life which was attended with nothing but misery.

Almost as bad as these are the *Hairet*, those Mahometan sceptics who dare not trust their own reason, but are ever wavering and irresolute. If I should seek for instruction at their hands, they would answer me, "God knows best what I ought to do;" and so leave me in the same suspense as I was before.

Much worse are the *Guaid*, those morose interpreters of the law of mercy, who damn a man irrecoverably to hell for committing one mortal sin. This is enough to drive all mankind to despair.

Indeed the morals of the *Sabin* please me, who seem to be perfect Mahometan stoics, ascribing all events to destiny, and the influence of the stars. I could willingly embrace the advice of philosophers who appear so void of passion; but I could never join with them in adoring the sun, moon, and constellations of heaven, because the *Alcoran* has expressly forbidden it; and were there no such prohibition, my own reason would convince me that I ought as well to adore the fire for warming me, and serving my other necessities, or the water for quenching my thirst, and purifying me, or my own hands for feeding me, as to pay these divine honours to the celestial bodies, since the one, as well as the other, act according to their nature.

In a word, of all the innumerable sects into which the Mussulman empire is divided, I cannot expect entire satisfaction from any; for, if they appear orthodox in some tenets, in others they are manifestly heretical. Yet I cannot but set a higher value on some than others, as their doctrines and practices approach nearer to reason and truth; for I am not yet such an academic as to ask that mock question, What is truth?

Doubtless our fathers knew it, and the Messenger of God was sent to divulge it on earth. But if ignorance, superstition and error, have banished it from courts and cities, let us seek it in the deserts. Perhaps we may find this wanderer among the rocks and woods ; or, it is possible, she has sheltered herself in some den or cave, as hoping for greater favour from the wild beasts than from the society of men.

If truth be nowhere to be found entire, but has divided herself among the different religions and sects in the world, then, rather than miss of this divine jewel, I will search for it in fragments ; and whatsoever is rational and pious in any sect, I will embrace, without concerning myself in their follies and vices.

After all, the Munasifi seem to me the only orthodox and illuminated of GOD, who, declining the private by-ways of schismatics, walk in the high road of pristine justice and piety, following the steps of the ancients, and obeying the traditions which know no origin. Among these thou appearest as another Pythagoras, confirming them by thy example in an innocent life ; enduring the utmost severities of abstinence, rather than be guilty of shedding the blood of those creatures which the great Lord of all things created to enjoy the herbage of the field, and to partake of the common blessings of Nature as well as we.

To thee, therefore, I have recourse, as to an oracle. Tell me, O sacred Sylvian, am I not obliged to obey the inspirations of my nature, or better genius, which tells me, it is a butcherly and inhuman life to feed on slaughtered animals ? Did not all those who aimed at perfection among the primitive disciples of the Prophet abstain from murdering the brutes ? It is true, the Messenger of GOD did not positively enjoin abstinence from flesh,

yet he recommended it as a divine counsel ; and those to whom he indulged the liberty of eating it, he tied up to certain conditions. Do not all the religious orders preach up abstinence, both in their sermons and lives ? I make no longer doubt, but the corruption of manners, and voluptuousness of men, are the causes that this ancient sobriety is now diffused and slighted. My own experience confirms me in this opinion, who have often attempted to live in abstinence ; but, by the force of a voracious appetite, suffered myself to be carried back to my old intemperance.

Yet, in eating flesh, I have been precisely careful to observe the prohibitions of our holy Prophet, so long as it was in my power. I never knowingly tasted of blood, nor of any thing strangled or knocked down. But it is impossible for me to assure myself of this ; or that all the flesh I eat was killed in pronouncing that tremendous name which gave it life. Neither could I once escape a necessity of eating swine's flesh.

But I abominate myself for this involuntary crime ; and, to obviate the like temptation for the future, I will taste of nothing that has breathed the common air, being inclined to believe the Metempsychosis, which, if it be true, I wish for no greater happiness, than that in my next change my soul may pass into the body of the camel which shall carry thee to Mecca.

Paris, 14th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1650.

## II.—To MINEZIM ALUPH, *Bassa*.

MY intelligence from the Imperial Porte sometimes arrives late, either through the neglect of Kifur Dramelcc, to whom that care is committed, or through the badness

of the roads, which many times are impassable, besides the frequent stops and interceptions of the posts in this time of war, which is the reason I do not always hear of the alterations at the seraglio, and the changes that are made in the governments of the shining empire till many moons are passed. Who is exalted, or who made Mansoul, are things to which Mahmut is for a time a great stranger.

Therefore thou hast no reason to be offended that I am thus late in sending to thee my congratulatory address; but rest confident, that I wish thee increase of happiness, like the sprouting of the palm.

As a mark of my duty and affection, I shall now acquaint thee with news, which, though it may seem of small import to the divan, yet has startled all Europe.

It is the imprisonment of three of the French princes; not those of the ordinary rank, but branches of the royal stem, whose names are not unknown in the seraglio, the residence of fame. They are the Princes of Conde and Conti, brothers, and the Duke of Longueville, husband to their sister. They are the principal subjects in this nation; all three having the majestic blood of the kings of France running in their veins.

They owe their confinement to Cardinal Mazarini, or rather to their own inartificial conduct. The Prince of Conde is a passionate man, and has never learned how to conceal his resentments. When he first returned from the battle of Lens in Flanders, whereof I formerly gave an account, the insurrection in Paris began. The prince blocked up the city, and promised the cardinal (against whom alone all this storm was raised), that he would either bring him back in triumph to Paris, or die in the attempt. He performed his word; and the cardinal rode



through the streets of Paris in the same coach with the king, queen, and all the royal blood, after the siege was raised, and a peace concluded ; and the prince, when he alighted out of the coach, addressed himself thus to the cardinal : “ Now, Sir, I esteem myself the happiest man in the world, in that I have been able to perform my engagement, in bringing your eminence back to Paris ; and that by my presence, the hatred which the multitude have for your person was repressed whilst we passed through the streets.”

This too nearly touched the cardinal ; and indeed the queen, with all the rest, were sensible that the prince had too far overshot himself in this last expression. However, the cardinal replied in a kind of modesty, not wholly void of choler and disdain : “ Sir, you have not only obliged me to that height, but have done the kingdom so considerable a service in this action, that I fear neither their majesties nor myself shall be ever in a state to make you answerable compensation.”

Those who stood by and heard these interchangable discourses, were apt to interpret the first for a reproach, and the second as a menace ; since it is not usual for great men to overvalue the services they do their king and country ; and for princes, when they cannot duly reward an eminent performance, to turn their gratitude into hatred.

This is certain, that the Prince of Conde has presumed much on the merit of his late services ; and it was not easy for the queen or the cardinal to invent such acknowledgments as he expected ; for he imagined they ought to deny him nothing, who had so often hazarded his life for their interest.

It was on this ground he thought he had a right to

interpose in a marriage which Mazarini designed to make between one of his nieces and the Duke of Mercœur.

This duke is of a family which has been a long time at variance with that of the Prince of Conde ; and therefore the prince was jealous, lest the cardinal, by the intended match, should fortify his interest among the prince's enemies, and so be in a condition not to want his protection, the only thing he was ambitious of ; for, could he have once reduced the cardinal to this necessity, he himself had been absolute master at court ; therefore he opposed the match with all vigour and industry. This nettled the cardinal ; he complains to the queen of the prince's unkindness ; she intercedes, and uses her utmost endeavours to reconcile the prince to this marriage ; but his brother, the Duke of Longueville, had so possessed the prince with a jealousy of the cardinal's proceedings, that no arguments could prevail on him, or overcome his fixed aversion for Mazarini's designed alliance with the house of Vendosme (so they call the family from whence the Duke of Mercœur is sprung). He rails at the cardinal, and lampoons him in all companies ; this begets ill blood in the supreme minister of state, who secretly resolves the prince's ruin.

In this, his policy and malice exceeded the petty revenges of the prince ; who being of a frank, open heart, contented himself with railleries and satirical expressions, whilst the cardinal concealed his anger under the mask of extraordinary civilities ; returning all the contempts of the prince, with a respect which seemed to speak much affection and devoir.

He has been a long time tampering with a faction which goes by the name of the Frondeurs. These were his enemies, not so much in hatred of his person, as out

of a zeal to serve their country, which they imagined was oppressed under the conduct of this minister.

These he has lately gained over to his party, by representing to them the Prince of Conde as the author of all those evils which they ascribed to himself; whilst at the same time he persuaded the prince, that they had some design against his person. Thus he artificially blinded both parties, and engaged them in mutual revenges, privately animating the Frondeurs against the prince, and provoking the prince to seek the ruin of the Frondeurs. By this trap the prince was inveigled to consent, and give orders for his own imprisonment, whilst he was made to believe the arrest was designed against his enemies; and the people were satisfied, since they were persuaded the faction of the Frondeurs had a hand in the plot.

The 18th of the last moon the three princes were taken into custody, and sent to a place they call the Castle of the Wood of Vincennes, some leagues from Paris. The same day the queen sent for the Duchess of Longueville to come to her, but the wary duchess would not put herself into a cage; she immediately fled in disguise to a sea town belonging to her husband.

It is said, the Prince of Conde had notice given him of his designed imprisonment, but that he would not escape, projecting to himself some greater advantages from the discontents of the people (who now behold him as a patriot), than from a clandestine or fugitive liberty. This is certain, his coach broke on the road between Paris and Vincennes; and it is thought his friends might easily have rescued him; for this accident occasioned a stop of six hours in their journey, time enough to have raised a thousand men to his relief, being only guarded by sixteen cavaliers. But it seems he courts the cardinal's per-

ferution, that he may have deeper grounds for revenge. I know not whether his policy is justifiable or no; but, if I were in his circumstances, I should hardly take this method to gratify my resentments, which in all probability I should not be in a condition to accomplish till the Greek calends, that is, never.

Paris, 4th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1650.

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III.—*To the REIS EFFENDI, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

THE devotees among the Franks talk much of the jubilee that is to be celebrated this year at Rome. They enrich their fancies with the hopes of I know not what spiritual treasure, which the Roman musti, or pontiff, will distribute among the pilgrims that resort to Rome, during this holy year.

This, as I am told, is celebrated in imitation of the sabbatical year, formerly observed by the Jews when they possessed the Holy Land. The Hebrew writers, such as Josephus and others, call that also the year of jubilee. Their cabbalists, like the Pythagoreans, pretended to derive great mysteries from certain numbers; and the number seven was had in particular veneration by the Hebrews: therefore they kept every seventh day, week, and year holy. In the seventh year it was not lawful to till the ground, plant vineyards, or sow any seed; and when seven times seven years were expired, the year of jubilee was proclaimed, being always the fiftieth: they proclaimed it by trumpets throughout the whole country of Palestine, in the forty-ninth year; and the Mueziñs cried in the gates of their cities and synagogues, at the beginning of the jubilee, "Let every man return this

year to his own possession and tribe, whether he be a slave or free. He that has sold his houses or lands, if he was not before able to redeem them, let him this year take possession of his inheritance. He that is become another man's slave, and neither himself nor his friends can redeem him, let him this year be dismissed, and sent home to the family to which he belongs; for henceforth he is free by the indulgence of the law. Let no man sow the ground, nor gather the fruits that grow of themselves this year: but let the earth, as well as its inhabitants, enjoy liberty and rest; for this is the year of grace and divine bounty."

After this manner was the Hebrew jubilee proclaimed and observed; and they say, from hence arose the custom among the Christians, who in many things may be styled the Jews apes. But others say, that the present Roman jubilee is derived from the secular games, celebrated by their Pagan ancestors, in regard this was renewed every hundred years at first, even as those games were; whence it was, that the cryer in those days, at the indiction of the secular games, said, "Come to the plays which no man living has yet seen, nor shall ever see again." For, man's life being generally so short, they thought it improbable that any mortal should live to see this solemnity repeated.

The modern jubilee was first published by Boniface IX. bishop of Rome, in the year 1300 of the Christians hegira; at which time, he promised full and entire remission of sins to all who should resort in pilgrimage to Rome that year. After him it was celebrated every hundred year, according to his institution, till the days of Clement VI. who, at the instance of the Roman citizens, reduced it to every fiftieth year. Then Urban VI. another pope, reduced it to the thirty-third year; and



last of all, Paul II. contracted the interval to five-and-twenty years ; which space of time has been observed by all his successors to this day.

If thou wouldst know the reason why they have thus altered the periods, it is for profit ; for in the year of jubilee, there is a vast conflux of people from all parts of Europe, who bring a far greater treasure into the Roman coffers, than they carry away from that city ; though the pope, it is said, is very liberal of that which they call the treasure of the church ; which is a certain fund of merits and superabundant graces, left by the Messiah and his saints in the custody of this prelate, to supply the defects and infirmities of sinful men ; and they believe it is only in his power to dispose of this heavenly wealth to whom he pleases. They talk also of indulgences and pardons, whereby the holy father can redeem men from all sin, and the punishments that are due to it ; and this wonderful prerogative, they say, does not only benefit the living, but extends even to the souls departed, whom the pope, according to their persuasion, can free from the torments of purgatory, and at his pleasure admit into the gates of paradise.

We that are Mussulmans cannot declaim against the doctrine of praying for the dead, since it is practised by all the faithful ; neither have we reason to inveigh against indulgencies, or releases from penance ; but that the power of granting and dispensing these favours should be only repositied in the Christian mufti, will not accord with the faith of a true believer. We know who swore by the hoofs of his swift and faithful Elborach, which in one night carried him a journey of six moons, that from thenceforth the key of Aaraf, or the place of prisons, was committed to him. Doubtless the Omnipotent can transfer his commissions when and to whom he pleases.

If he once gave this authority of remitting sins to the Messiah, and Peter his lieutenant, does it follow that all Peter's successors, the caliphs of Rome, have retained this privilege? There have been many good men in that seat, and not a few wicked; some prophets and some magicians; a catalogue interspersed with faints, martyrs, butchers, and devils.

But it is evident they forfeited their authority, when they declined from the truth, from the unblameable profession of the divine unity, and resisted the messenger of Heaven, sent to correct their errors, reform their vices, and reduce mankind to one law of purity and light.

I write not partially, nor am I embittered against the patriarch of the Romans; he is a man, like others, subject to the will of destiny. The Babylonian caliphs, and those of Egypt, successively enjoyed the same power, transmitted to them from the prophet, who sealed up all the former dispensations; yet in time, through their sins, they forfeited their authority, together with their empire, when the bright Osmans conquered all things. Then was the prophetic office translated to our musti, the guide of those who possess the sepulchre of Mahomet; to him all the world ought to have recourse for solution of their doubts, direction in their lives, absolution from their sins, and for the passport of immortality, the festa required of all that enter the gates of paradise.

But all mortals are naturally tenacious of whatsoever advances their honour and interest. Kings hug empty titles that yield them no profit; and the Roman bishops are unwilling to acknowledge themselves divested of the privileges which were once annexed to that chair of Peter: they show the keys, the symbols of a power which they have lost; and the credulous Nazarenes believe that heaven and hell are opened and shut at their pleasure.

On the eve of the Messiah's nativity, the present pope knocked three times with a golden hammer at the gates of the principal mosque in Rome, which were then opened, to signify the ensuing year of jubilee; when the Christians are persuaded, that heaven is open to all that visit Rome in this holy time.

I wish thee a life of many jubilees.

Paris, 9th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1650.

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IV.—*To the Flower of High Dignity, the Most Magnificent* VISIER AZEM.

WHEN I first heard the news of the troubles that have been at Constantinople, the deposition of Mahomet, the late Vizier Azem, and the advancement of the Janizar-Aga to that dignity, I imagined it had been Cassim Hali; but it seems that brave old soldier is elevated to a more lofty station; he has entered the immortal possessions, being translated to an high seat; for I understand he has his rest in paradise. On that hero be the mercies of the Supremely Indulgent; whilst I turn myself to thee, his late successor in that military honour, but now the lieutenant of the shadow of God. I touch the earth thrice with my forehead, when I salute thee, great prince of the Viziers, in token of my humility and reverence, and in remembrance of my original; that I, who am but the product of dust, a mere worm, may not commit an indecency, when I address to the bright image of our august emperor, who is the type of the sun.

In speaking to persons of thy immense power, I strive equally to shun flattery and disrespect: endeavouring to deport myself with an even course between those two

extremes, as mariners steer between Scylla and Charybdis. These are dangerous places in the Sicilian seas.

All Europe celebrates thy praises, and extols thy justice for releasing the ambassador of Venice, imprisoned in the fourth moon of this year. They say, since thy assumption to this important trust, the Ottoman Porte is reformed, and grown more civilized; (for the Franks esteem all the followers of the prophet, who could neither write nor read, as barbarians).

Here is much talk about the defeat given to our forces in Hungary: The French spare for no encomiums on the Bassa of Buda, who fought valiantly till his legs were shot off, and then caused himself to be carried up and down through the army to encourage his soldiers. Neither do they diminish the glory that is due to his son, who received his death in defending his father, at what time the old captain was taken prisoner.

But they blame the conduct of him who besieged the fort of Clissa, in regard he undertook it in the wrong season of the year: The defect of a general's judgment, in such cases, is many times fatal to an army. The French are the best in the world at spying advantages, and the most dexterous in making use of them. Most of their campaigns are spent in their trenches, or in light skirmishes; seldom hazarding a battle, unless on some unequal terms to their own interest; and then they never let slip the opportunity. This commends their policy, but is no great argument of their courage; for true valour never regards dangers.

Adonai the Jew sends me word, that the Venetians are put in great hopes of accommodating their affairs with the mysterious divan, since the release of their bailo; yet both they and all the Nazarenes resent highly the strangling of his interpreter.

They understand not the measures of the Sublime Porte, full of wisdom and justice ; and that by the terror of such examples, the ministers of the righteous throne seek to prevent future wickedness.

In these Western courts, a little gold, or a great friend, shall easily palliate and procure a pardon for the greatest crimes. Their processes here are slow in the execution of justice ; being strangers to the impetuous orders and swift performance practised in the East. Besides, this interpreter sported himself to death by the licentiousness of his tongue. He delighted to play upon majesty, and with an insolent lasciviousness of speech, to deceive him whose high, sublime, and remote intellect uses no other expressions of his wrath but the hands of his mutes. It does not become the emperor of the world to be profuse in words, as the Christian princes are, who take great pains to satisfy their vassals of the justice of their proceedings. They cannot condemn the wicked without a formal process, wherein various wits show their skill in canvassing the cause, which, upon sincere evidence, may be decided in two words. This is the masquerade of Christian justice, a mere trap for gold, the secret of the Western lawyers, who enrich themselves at the price of other men's folly, and to the disgrace of the monarch who there pretends to command.

Should those men of law see this letter, and know who wrote it, how would they not circumscribe and flay the minutest dash of my pen to find arguments of revenge against a Mussulman ?

All men are full of themselves, and their own principles ; and the Nazarenes of the West are so brimming with them, that there is no room left for instruction or amendment. Like the Chinese they boast of their own



science and wisdom, reputing all the rest of the world ignorant and blind.

They are so narrow in their tenets, so dogmatical in their decisions, and so conceited of all, that it is difficult for a man, who has conversed in a freer air, to frame himself to their rules.

By what I have said thou mayest determine, that it is no easy task for an Arabian native, bred in the seraglio, to conform himself adroit to the humours and fashions of France; yet I curb all the natural propensions of my birth, blood, and education, as much as in me lies, that I may serve the Grand Signior. I am incognito in all respects, save those wherein I cannot be hid; and I would change my mask a hundred times over, rather than fail of my ends.

What can I say more to him who only values a slave for his deeds.

I turn not my back on thee, sublime idea of absolute power; but, retiring after the most respectful manner of the East, I make a thousand obeisances, till the antiport has covered me from thy illustrious presence.

Paris, 17th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1650.

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V.—*To SEDREC AL' GIRAWN, Chief Page of the Treasury.*

THOU wilt have reason to wonder at a man pretending acquaintance with thee, whom thou canst not remember to have seen. It is from my brother Pesteli Hali, thy former master, I received the news of thy late preferment, who art thyself but early in years; yet no time is unseasonable to a man mature in virtue and wisdom.

I knew thee an infant in the arms of thy mother, the widow of an Arabian foldier, who served my brother in the wars of Persia. There appeared then such evident symptoms of thy future wit and dexterity, as prompted thy father's captain to take thee into his protection and care; and thy mother by her charms soon found a way to his bosom.

I write not these things to reproach thee with the meanness of thy birth: Thy merits equal thee with those who are born of nobles. It is not the custom of the East to prefer men for their parentage, or because they can show the dusty statues of their ancestors. This is the peculiar oversight of the infidels, to give that honour to names, and men of a noisy descent, which is only due to virtue. There are families in Rome at this day who boast of their pedigrees, and that they spring from the renowned heroes that are recorded in the histories of that empire: But they glory in their shame, since they are quite degenerated from the brave qualities which ennobled their progenitors, and by their fordid actions are become a daily subject for the descants of Pasquil. This is an image in a certain public place in Rome, to which in the night-time they affix the libels which they dare not own; a kind of dumb satire on the vices of the grandees, not sparing even the chief mufti of the Christians, if he is guilty of any follies which merit to come within the verge of a lampoon.

It was no contemptible jest which was in this manner put upon the present pope, and one of his nephews, at the latter end of the last year. It seems the good old father had advanced this spark from a poor ignorant tailor to the dignity of a Roman baron; bestowing on him offices which brought him a revenue sufficient to maintain his title and porte. All the ancient nobility

were disgusted at this ; and some arch wag was set at work to ridicule the pope's conduct, and the new baron's honour. Wherefore, on the day which the Nazarenes celebrate with great solemnity for the birth-day of Jesus the son of Mary, early in the morning the fore-mentioned image, Pasquil, was observed to be apparelled all in rags, and a very nasty habit, with a schedule of paper in his hand, wherein was writ, " How now, Pasquil ; what ! all in rags on a Christmas-day ?" (for so they call the nativity of their Messias)—And underneath was inscribed this answer : " Alas, I cannot help it, for my TAILOR is become a LORD."

Yet notwithstanding the obscurity of this man's birth, and the meanness of his former trade, he became an eminent statesman after the pope had exalted him to that dignity ; and lived with an unblemished reputation, whilst he saw all, or most of the ancient nobility Pasquilled every day for their effeminate vices.

By what I have said, thou mayest be assured, that I have not the less esteem for thee, because thou wast not the son of a bassa ; since, had thy father lived, his fortune and courage might have promoted him to that honour, or a command equal to it ; and thou thyself art in a fair way to supply some future vacancy in those great charges of the empire.

I have no news at present to send thee, save that the three French princes, of whose imprisonment I gave an account to Minezim Aluph, are removed by Cardinal Mazarini's order from the castle of Vinciennes, to a seaport town called Havre de Grace, for fear they should be rescued by Marshal Turenne, who is much devoted to their interest. The Princess of Conde is retired to Bourdeaux, a city at this time in arms against the king,

having also with her the young Duke of Enguien her son.

The Marshal de la Meilleray is gone with his army to besiege this place ; and it is said, the king will soon follow with the whole court. All things seem to portend another relapse of this state into the old disorders.

But this is not of so near a concern to us that are mussulmans, as the quarrels that I hear are broached between the janizaries and spahis. They say, the whole Ottoman empire is warped this way and that way into contrary factions ; and that the seraglio itself is full of different cabals, on the account of these military orders. It afflicts me with extreme grief, to receive nothing but sad news from the Porte, which is, or at least ought to be, a fountain of joy to the whole earth. I pray Heaven avert the omen ! for it looks with an ill presage, when the champions of the divine unity are thus divided against themselves.

If thou wilt take my advice, enter not thyself into the secret of either party, but, posising thy affections with prudence, stand neuter to all things but the Grand Signior's interest. In that be as zealous as thou canst. As for the rest, wait the decrees of destiny.

Paris, 29th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1650.

#### VI.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

GRAPHUL EBEN SHAHENSCHAH the Arabian philosopher has said it, and every man's experience confirms it, that no human care can prevent the accomplishment of what Heaven has decreed. There are certain moments of our lives wherein fate delights to mock our wit and prudence, to baffle our strictest caution, and ridicule all

our conduct, that we may learn the lesson of resignation, and not trust too much to ourselves.

When I first saluted the light of this morning sun, my spirits were serene and joyful : No melancholy dreams had left their black impression on my mind, no saddening thoughts possessed my soul ; I awaked cheerful and sprightly as the lark. After I had adored the Omnipotent, and performed my accustomed holy things, I began to reflect on my own happiness, in that I had so many years served the Sublime Porte in this station, full of difficulties and perils, yet by no misfortune had even betrayed the least secret of my commission. It pleased me to think I still passed for Titus of Moldavia among the French, who are the most apprehensive people in the world ; and even in the opinion of Cardinal Mazarini, who, like Janus, has more eyes than two. I embraced myself (if I may so speak), in the conceit of my good success ; concluding I was born under fortunate stars, and that no disaster could ever hurt me.

But I took wrong measures of the ways of destiny, which are as untraceable as the mines ; for before mid-day my sun was eclipsed, the air of my soul ruffled with storms, and all my joy turned to mourning and sadness.

Wilt thou know the occasion of my grief ? It 'was this : In the year 1645, according to the stile of the Nazarenos, I received some particular instructions from the then Visier Azem, putting me in mind of the hazards I run in this post, and giving me strict charge to bestow all my letters in a secure place, whether the transcripts of those I write to the ministers of the Porte (for I always retained a copy of the original), or the dispatches I receive from thence.



That minister was afraid, lest I might some time or other be discovered, and consequently that my chamber would be searched. Therefore, obeying his hint, I immediately carried all my writings to Eliachim the Jew; knowing his house to be free from any jealousy of the state, and that the most important secrets in the world might be there an age unrevealed.

The letters of my writing were enclosed in one box, and those which I received from the Invincible Porte in another. And this was my constant custom from that time; as often as I writ to the ministers of the divan, or had perused the dispatches which came from them, I disposed of both in their proper places, leaving all to the care of Eliachim.

But neither his caution nor mine were sufficient to prevent the resolves of Heaven: It was determined above that we should lose some of these papers. Eliachim came to me to-day, before the hour of Ulanamisi, all in passion, astonished, raving and staring like a madman. As soon as he entered my chamber, he tore his inner vest, which was of crimson silk, fringed round with gold, and cried, We are undone, betrayed, and ruined.

I presently thought of my writings; and asked him whether they were safe. In a word, he told me he had lost the box, which contained the letters sent from the ministers of the Porte to me, and that his slave, a negro, whom he kept in his house, was missing. Thou mayest imagine, sage minister, that this news put me into no small confusion. I presently suspected that this villain of a negro had got the writings, and was gone to Cardinal Mazarini with them: But then recollecting with cooler thoughts, that this African understood not Arabic, in which language alone Eliachim and I used to converse, and that consequently he never could know

our affairs, or read the letters, which might tempt him to such a treason, I was at a loss what to think of it. Neither am I better satisfied now, though I have ruminated on it these twelve hours; only I think, if Cardinal Mazarini has these papers in his custody, he would have given orders before this time to seize the supposed Titus of Moldavia, for some of these letters take notice of my having assumed that name. But I cannot perceive any attempt has been made in that kind, or that any body has been to inquire for me at my lodgings; for I set spies to observe, as soon as I departed thence with Eliachim, which was about noon. We are now together in a friend's house, where we shall continue till we hear farther of this event. As yet we are in the dark, and full of fears; but time, which brings all things to light, will convince us what we have to trust to.

In the mean while, there is little news save a discourse of a certain convention at Nuremberg, and the great jubilee which is celebrated at Rome, where they say the Christians chief mufti, the week before their Beiram, or Easter, washed the feet of twelve pilgrims; and that Cardinal Ludovisio entertained nine thousand of these devotees at once with a very magnificent feast. They say also, that the pope will get this year two millions of sequins, by the resort of pilgrims to that city.

The king of Denmark's resident at this court has received a letter, which certifies him that his master has declared Prince Christian his son successor in the throne.

They talk also of a marriage lately solemnized between Charles, a German count, and Charlotte, sister to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

But that which most takes up mens ears, and employs their tongues and thoughts, are the civil wars of this kingdom, which is all in a flame, by occasion of the im-

prisonment of the Prince of Conde and his brothers. The citizens of Paris are very jocund at the repeated news of the king's ill success, for they wish not well to his arms, whilst employed against the malcontents.

Illustrious old grandee, I wish thee the years of Nestor, and those calculated by full moons of prosperity; but I pray Heaven avert from thee some of his moments, wherein they say he was tormented with the gout, as I am at this instant. It is a pain hardly to be supported.

Paris, 11th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1650.

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VII.—*To the same.*

By the God whom I adore, and by his shadow, I swear there is no disloyalty in Mahmut, yet his life is full of temptations and perils. The box of letters I mentioned in my last, is irrecoverably gone, and laid up in the bowels of the earth, if we may believe the confession of a man, every angle of whose heart has been searched with exquisite torments, even to death.

Eliachim's slave, the negro whom I spoke of, mistook that box for one very like it, out of which he had often seen his master take jewels; for this is the particular merchandise of that Jew; and the weight of each was not so unequal as to rectify his error. Lucre tempted him, and the desire of liberty; whilst the darkness (for he committed the villany before sun-rising), and his own guilty fears, conspired to baffle his intended theft. The boxes stood together (so careful was Eliachim of the sublime secrets, as not to venture them in a place less secure than that of his jewels), and the villain, hasty to be gone, and confounded for want of light, took up that wherein were the writings, instead of his designed prey,

the jewels. He went directly into the fields, purposing to bury this supposed treasure in the earth, in some private place, where he might take it forth at discretion ; but first opening the box to supply himself with such stones as he thought would be unquestionable pawns for money, to answer his present necessities, that so he might the better provide for his concealment, he was astonished, and his heart became like lead, when he found nothing but papers full of characters to which he was wholly a stranger. A thousand resolutions presented themselves to him in that agony of his mind, and he knew not what to fix on. Sometimes he thought to carry the box back again, as he found it ; and since his design had been thus strangely baulked, to content himself till another opportunity ; but then he considered it was too late to return, before his master would miss both his slave and box ; for the sun was now far advanced in our hemisphere, and Eliachim is an early riser. In a word, therefore, he thought it the safest way to bury it in the ground, as he first intended, had it been the box of jewels, and so shift for himself ; proposing to himself this advantage in hiding the papers in a secure place, that if they were of value, he might at any time make composition with his master, by discovering where they were.

All that I have here related is drawn from his own mouth, in the midst of tortures ; for Eliachim soon heard of his fugitive negro, who was seized on the road to Lyons by some correspondents of this Jew ; who, having intelligence of it, took horse immediately, and went to the place. He did not think it safe to make a public business of it, or to arraign him before the appointed judges of the country ; but, relying on the justice of his cause, and the right of a master, he privately put him to

tortures of divers kinds, in a house where he could command any thing.

The stout African at first denied that he had meddled with any box, saying, he escaped purely for the sake of liberty. But when a succession of divers torments had quite overthrown his constancy, he confessed all that I have already related. Eliachim still suspecting worse, and that he only framed this as a plausible story, to be freed from, or at least to respite the pains he suffered, caused sharp thorns to be thrust under the nails of his fingers and toes, believing that the extremity of so sensible a pain would extort the true secret from him; but he could get nothing else from the poor excruciated negro, though now almost ready to expire, than that he had hid the box under ground, in a certain corner of a field out of the city, to which he knew not how to direct Eliachim, but promised to show it him, if he would carry him alive to Paris.

This was no hard task to perform, in the opinion of the Jew, it being but a day's journey to this city from the place where they then were; but he was deceived in his hopes, and now all the applications and cordials they could use came too late, for that very night the negro breathed out his soul.

However, when Eliachim came to Paris, he followed the directions of his dead slave as well as he could, in searching every corner of the fields on that side of the city where this black had been seen to go out, but all to no purpose. He could find nothing; nor have we any hopes ever to see that box again. Yet I have many qualms of fear, lest some time or other it should come to light, to our disadvantage and ruin.

I desire thy instruction, sage governor of the capital city, how I shall deport myself if it be my lot to be dis-



covered. As to the remaining box, which has in it the transcripts of my own dispatches, I have taken it home to my lodging, believing it will be as safe here as in the house of Eliachim ; since that faithful Jew is no more exempted from contingencies than myself, and I have no servant to betray me.

This kingdom abounds at present in treasons and rebellions. The French spare not to massacre one another for the sake of a passion ; while the Spaniards make their advantages of their intestine feuds ; for under pretence of assisting the princes of the blood, they get footing in Picardy, from whence it will not be easy to expel them. Leopold Archduke of Austria, is at the head of the Spanish army, and has taken several towns belonging to the French king.

When the quarrels of these infidels will end, I am not solicitous ; my thoughts being ever taken up in the service which I owe to the empire of true believers.

I cannot bid thee adieu, illustrious Kaimacham, until I have assured thee, I am macerated with zeal for the Grand Signior.

Paris, 23d of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1650.

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VIII.—*To SOLYMAN KUSLIR AGA, Prince of the Black Eunuchs.*

AFTER I had perused thy dispatch, wherewith thou hast honoured thy slave Mahmut ; as I was full of joy for the continued demonstrations of thy friendship and protection, so my breast conceived an indignation at the affront which has been offered to the Sublime Porte by the Cham of the Tartars, in presuming to demand the tutelage of our august emperor. It is an indignity to

the ministers of supreme justice and honour, lights of the imperial divan, to whom is committed the cognizance of all human events ; the illustrious visiers, who manage the affairs of the mighty and invincible Sultan Mahomet, whose throne may God fortify, till the moon shall no more appear in the heavens.

Those people have been ever thirsty of rule, and it is numbered among the virtues of their ancestors, that they enlarged their dominions by the keen edge of their swords ; but in all the registers and archives of the empire, it has not been found that any of that nation challenged a right to govern our sultans, though during their minority. It is sufficient, that they shall have the honour (according to the ancient capitulations) to succeed in the throne of the Osman princes, if ever that sacred line should be extinct, which God avert, till the final consummation.

It is a wonder they demanded not also his royal brothers, the other sons of Sultan Ibrahim, that so they might at one blow cut off the whole Osman race, and take possession of the vacant throne.

I have not heard any thing these many moons what is become of these high-born infants, whether they are alive, or sacrificed to the jealousy of the Sultan, as has been the custom. Here are various flying reports concerning them. Some say, that thou hast conveyed away Sultan Achmet, and that he is privately educated in the house of a certain Georgian. The blessing of Mahomet be upon thee, and refresh thy heart, if thou hast taken this care to preserve the life of an Osman prince, which is more precious than an hundred thousand of common birth.

As for Solyman, and the rest of that sublime race, the French give them over for lost ; and I cannot con-

tradict them for want of due intelligence. Besides, I have reason to fear it is too true, in regard it has been the cruel practice of all, or most of [our] late emperors, either to slaughter their brethren, as soon as they ascended the throne, or to put them to a more lingering death and martyrdom in a prison.

It is true, indeed, our present sovereign is not yet arrived to those years wherein children commonly lose their native innocence. I believe he suspects none of his brethren, nor harbours any unkind thoughts against their lives. Yet cruelty may be insinuated into his tender years by the artifices of his mother, especially against those of his father's blood, that did not also partake of her's; for Sultan Ibrahim, thou knowest, had children by other women besides the Sultana Valede.

The Maltese think they have one of these royal infants in their possession. Thou knowest the whole story of thy predecessor's voyage toward Egypt, with his beautiful slave and her son, whom these infidels honour as the offspring of the Grand Signior. Thou art not ignorant, also, that this infant, with his mother, were banished out of jealousy, by the order of her who bore in her womb Sultan Mahomet, our glorious sovereign; the remembrance of which makes me tremble for the sake of the young prince, if there be any yet remaining alive. It is in thy power to certify me, and, in doing so, thou wilt rid me of much anxiety.

I am but a slave of the slaves who serve the Grand Signior; and it is not decent for me to descant on the actions of our most absolute monarch, whose will is not to be controuled: but I am still a man, and have some share of humanity and reason. Thou also art my particular friend, and wilt permit me to discourse with freedom. Was it not a bloody feast, to which our king's

great-grandfather, Mahomet III. invited nineteen of his brethren on the day of his inauguration? Was it not a cruel act, to cause these royal guests, in whose veins ran the blood of his own father, to be strangled before they departed from his table? No less inhuman was it of Mahomet, the late Visier Azem, to guide the hand of this our present sovereign, when but six years old, and incapable of knowing what he did, to sign a warrant for the execution of his father. Well may the Nazarenes call us barbarians, when they contemplate the empire of the mussulmans, supported by such unnatural methods.

Thou that hast the superlative honour of being the immediate guardian of our young emperor, wilt pardon the liberty I take; ascribe all to the force of my zeal and loyalty. Thou art valiant and wise. Protect thy charge as the crystal of thine eyes, which thou wilt not suffer to be hurt by the dust of the streets.

Paris, 14th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1650.

#### IX.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

NOTWITHSTANDING all my philosophy, I have not command enough of my passion to conceal it from thee, who hast always been the partaker of my unequal fortunes. Whatever magnanimity of spirit I pretended to formerly in my sickness, it is at present overcome by the desire of ease. At that time, I remember some stoical considerations made me industriously hide from thee the tormenting pains I felt. I endeavoured to disguise my sufferings, and to paint my misery in such colours, that it could hardly be distinguished from happiness. But now I have not courage enough to hide from thee my fears and apprehensions; and all Seneca's morals are too

little to hinder me from complaining of the uncertainty that we daily experience in human affairs. This is a theme so popular, that, were not my particular misfortunes very pressing, it would make me sick to say any thing on a subject, that has been in every man's mouth since the time that our first father appeared among the trees. Therefore thou mayest be assured, I am not going about to make a declamation, or play the orator, to expatiate and make large descants on the instability of all things. What I have to say refers to myself and no body else, save to those who are the occasion of my melancholy.

In the tenth moon of the last year, I sent a letter to Kenan Bassa, the new Hafsadar Bassa. I have a copy of it by me, as I always retain of whatever dispatches I send to the Sublime Porte, whether to the public ministers or my private friends.

I have perused this letter several times within these eight-and-forty hours, and can find no just ground of offence, which that grandee could take thereat, unless he was angry with me for desiring him to be careful in transmitting my money. As for the rest, I only obeyed the particular instructions I received from Mahomet the late Visier Azem, who commanded me not to spare the greatest minister of the Porte, if I had reason either to counsel, or to reprehend him; for, said he in his letter, "To this end art thou placed at such a distance, that, besides the service thou dost our sovereign in disclosing the secrets of the infidels, thou mayest also be free to write whatever thou thinkest will conduce to his interest, without standing in fear of the revenge of the grandees." These were the very words of the prime minister of the Ottoman Empire.

Now I only told him of some miscarriages in his pre--



deceffors, warning him to be wary in his ftation. Either he was offended at this freedom I took, or becaufe I prefumed to advife him how to order my bills. Be it which it will, I have a fevere reprimand from the Reis Effendi, whom I have the greateft reafon in the world to efteem my friend.

It would never have vexed me, had he wrote plainly, and not difguifed his sentiments. But all was obfcure, faving one blunt expreffion, which convinced me, that the real ground of all this anger was my letter to Kenan, wherein I defired his care as to my money.

Can that minifter blame me for being apprehenfive of want in a foreign country, a region of infidels, where I have no other commerce but with courtiers and ftrangers, where, if I fhould be in the leaft fufpected, they would prefently put me in prifon, which would hazard a difcovery of the fublime fecrets? Does he not know that money commands all things; and that the greateft potentates obey the power of gold? It cannot be imagined, but that a man in my poft has a thoufand preffing occafions for money, which it is troublefome to exprefs; and I have had very wrong notions of my employment, if I deferve, on this account, to be reproved and threatened with fuch political circumlocutions; for the fecretary charges me with unwillingnefs to continue in the fervice of the ever-happy Porte; as if he thought my fidelity were corrupted, or that I had an inclination to the Nazarene intereft.

I tell thee, my Dgnet, perfidy I ever abhorred; this appears to me the moft terrible and odious of all vices; I could bear the guilt and reproach of a great many crimes, which have lefs of malice in their constitution. I am not afhamed of many venial frailties which I daily commit, though the law is fevere againft them. But

could any man accuse me of wilful treachery and ingratitude, I would pray instantly, that the luminaries of Heaven might be extinguished, and that no terrene substance might henceforth have in it the least potential light, that so I might neither be capable of seeing myself, or of being exposed to the eyes of others ; and, the better to escape the confusion which would attend that horrid guilt, I would not only avoid human society, but, if it were possible, I would run away from myself.

After all this, methinks such a temper need not be suspected, as averse from the interest to which he has so solemnly sworn.

I would not have troubled thee with the news of any other affliction ; but to be suspected of what I never was guilty of, and to be menaced in dark mysterious terms, not by an enemy, but by my friend, and one who has in his keeping the immortal records of my zeal and integrity ; this cuts me to the heart : And I had no other way to ease myself, but by venting my anguish to thee.

If any of the ministers will charge me with weakness, or want of ability to act in this station, I should have no reason to repine, since none of them can think so meanly of Mahmut, as he does of himself. I boast of nothing, but a loyalty to my trust, incapable of being corrupted.

But I forget that I am a Mussulman, and therefore ought to be resigned to the will of Heaven in all things, without complaint or murmur. Besides, I am infinitely obliged, in many regards, to the Reis Effendi ; and therefore he may be allowed to take his own advantages. Perhaps his reproofs may be just, and it is my own peevishness that hinders me from discerning it. However, I could wish he would henceforth express his re-

sentments with less obscurity, and not give me grounds to apprehend the loss of his friendship.

For, where I once love, I hate a change. And, if thou beest of the same mind, we two shall continue our friendship to the other side of the grave.

Paris, 30th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1650.

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X.—*To the REIS EFFENDI, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

IF thou wilt permit me to learn something from husbandmen, they say, it is not profitable to plough the fields, whose barren glebe brings forth nothing but briars and thorns. Such are the grounds of passion and anger among friends: Let them lie fallow for ever. Perhaps thou wilt call it presumption in me, to challenge such a relation between us; or, if thou ownest the title of a friend, thou wilt claim a right to reprove me. Be it how it will, reproofs make the best impression when they are given with mildness and moderation; especially, they ought not to be founded on a mistake, or false apprehension; for they appear like arrows discharged in the dark, which, being shot at random, may, by giving an undeserved wound, make an enemy of a friend, or at least render a friend suspected to be an enemy.

But I tell thee, I will not blow up the embers of a fire, whose flame is extinguished long ago, and whereof, by this time, I hope there remains not the least smoke. I never love to add fuel to such cases; otherwise, had I returned an answer to thy angry letter in the heat of my resentments, I might have played the incendiary; for I had both matter enough, and passion sufficient to ventilate

the already kindled sparks. And of this I know thou art sensible.

Well, to make the best construction of it : The Hafs-nadarbassa was affronted, I believe, at the freedom I took in advising him, not knowing that I had positive orders to do so, even to the first minister of state, if I saw occasion ; and, to vent his choler, he misrepresented the business to thee, hoping by thy means to awe me into a fawning acknowledgment of my supposed crime. If this was thy intention in writing that sharp letter, I smile at his mistake, but am sorry for thine, because I esteem thee my friend : it was but an oversight in you both ; and so let it pass.

Thy friendship I court, and refuse not his, nor that of any officer of the seraglio. I honour all the bassas and ministers of the Imperial Porte : I show to every one the respect that is due to his quality : But I am commanded to write with freedom to all, and not to speak as if I had the bearded head of a barley stalk on my tongue, which is apt to slip down a man's throat, and threatens to choke him that speaks whilst it is in his mouth. This charge I first received from the late Visier Azem Mahomet, and it has been since renewed with fresh instructions from others of great authority. They all tell me, with much assurance, that one chief end of my being placed here is, that being out of the limits of the Ottoman Empire, yet holding a constant intelligence, I may freely and without fear reprove the vices and encourage the virtues of the greatest governors and princes among the mussulmans. Nay, I am threatened with punishment, and the sultan's displeasure, if I neglect any opportunity of this nature, or appear partial and timorous in my reprehensions.

For it seems this is judged the most ready and effec-

tual method to reform the corruptions that are crept into court, camp, and city ; since every man is obliged to communicate the letters which he receives from me ; and they are all registered by thy care ; whereby the grantees are compelled, either to live within the limits of justice and their duty, or else to be the discoverers of their own faults, which will unavoidably bring them into disgrace, if not the loss of their liberty and lives ; or at least put them to the expence of costly presents to make their atonement : and thou knowest some men would almost as willingly part with their lives as their money, which is their god.

After all this, I hope thou wilt not be displeased if I perform my duty. It is not for me to be frightened with menaces, or softened with bribes. My integrity is proof against the pride of the one, and baseness of the other. Yet I have great esteem for the treasurer and thee, with other ministers, who are my friends. I could, to serve such, freely hazard my liberty, fortune, and any thing but my honour, which I value at a far higher rate than my life.

Thou mayest register it for a truth, that an English ambassador was in the 6th moon of this year murdered by villains in his chamber at Madrid, the capital city of Spain. There has been also a great battle fought in Scotland, between the army of that nation, who maintain their king's interest, and the forces of the new English commonwealth ; wherein the latter obtained a signal victory, having killed three thousand on the spot, taken nine thousand prisoners, fifteen thousand arms, two hundred ensigns, and all their cannon and baggage. These are prosperous beginnings of that republic, and redound much to the honour of the English General Oliver, whom every body extols for a gallant man. And I can-



assure thee these Western nations are not barren of heroes.

Principal scribe of the mussulmans, I wish thy heart may be a transcript of the best copies.

Paris, 1st of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1650.

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XI.—*To SOLYMAN AGA, Principal Chamberlain of the Womens Apartments in the Seraglio.*

THESE Tartars, of whom I spake to thee in my last, are a strange sort of people in their manner of life. But we must not censure them because we are of kin. I speak not of myself; for though I am an Arab, yet the greatest part of those who serve in the armies of the Grand Signior, are descended from the Crims, I mean the Spahis and Timariots. Thou knowest the originals of these military orders, and that they are more honourable than the janizaries, who, being strangers by blood, are brought up to the lure of the seraglio. They know neither father nor mother (I speak of the tributary youths), nor have they any partial fondness for their native country. They are educated in a perfect resignation to the Grand Signior, and his chief ministers; yet often disobey both, and not seldom put them in hazard of their lives. How many visiers have been sacrificed to a cunning janizar-aga, who, to prevent his own ruin, has tempted those under his command to mutiny, and accept of no atonement for their pretended grievances, less than the life of the first deputy? The rigid fate of Sultan Osman, uncle to our present sovereign, will not be forgot by those who love the Ottoman Family better than these bastard Hector. Shall the empire of true believers be ruined by the renegades? Besides, their discipline is ex-

tremely corrupted ; they marry, and follow mechanic trades, repugnant to the austere manners of the primitive guards, who are wholly attentive to martial exercises.

Were this to come to the hands of a janizary, he would curse me to the pains which have neither medium nor end. Yet I had once a friend of that order, Cassim Hali, the chief aga, a brave man, and of the same sentiments as myself. He sought to reform that disorderly militia, but was opposed by the wise men in power. He would freely have sacrificed his own grandeur and interest for the good of the mussulman empire, but was overawed by those who had no other interest but in its ruin.

Thou knowest who I mean. Neither am I a stranger to the heroic bravery of the faithful Solyman, when he bearded the Bostangi Aga on that account. That gardener was of the faction, being the son of a janizary, and trained up in all the practices of the seditious. It makes me ashamed when I hear the infidels upbraid the wisest of the wise, the supreme monarch on earth, with folly, for permitting this insolent and mutinous soldiery to continue in the empire ; and I tremble to think, that one time or other the renowned offspring of Ertogrul will owe its ruin and catastrophe to these disloyal vipers, whom it cherishes in the seraglio.

Much more assured is the French king of his guards of Switzers, whose fidelity was never stained with the least infamous brand of perfidiousness, in taking up arms against their master, whose bread they eat. These are mercenary foldiers, who travel out of their native country to serve foreign princes, and will shed the last drop of their blood rather than betray their trust ; therefore they are admitted into the palaces, and nigh the bed-chambers of the Pope and the King of France, with full confidence of their valour and integrity.

As for their country, it is barren and poor, consisting chiefly of rocks and deserts, which occasions the youth, who are generally very strong and hardy, to seek their subsistence abroad, by serving in the guards and armies of neighbouring monarchs and states.

Some regiments of the Switzers now serve in the wars of Candy, under the standard of Venice.

There are vessels arrived lately in some of the French harbours, which bring news of the ill success of our arms in the siege of Candia, the chief city of that island. They talk as if above two thousand musketeers were blown up in the ninth moon; and that Chusacine Bassa, discouraged by this loss, and with the inconveniencies of the approaching winter, was forced to raise the siege in the moon of October.

The French magnify the valour of the Knights of Malta, who signalized themselves by many brave actions during this siege; and if all be true that is related of these Christian champions, we cannot in common justice deny them their due character, and number some of them at least among the heroes.

Otherwise, we should come short of these Western Nazarenes in generosity, who, with no less honourable expressions, extol the repeated courage and invincible constancy of the illustrious Chusacine, and the alacrity of all the musketeer soldiers in the service of our great master.

Yet they cannot forbear reflecting on the cowardice of the janizaries, who, after that fatal blow, had they stoutly maintained their other posts, that brave bassa would not so soon have quitted the siege of this important place.

As for other news, I have little to acquaint thee with, save a seeming calm at present in this kingdom of France, which has for the greatest part of the year been harassed with civil discords and slaughters. Bourdeaux, the chief

city which held out against the king, is now reduced to obedience, the pacified monarch retired, and there is an appearance of peace.

The Queen of Sweden, we hear, was solemnly crowned in the 10th moon of the last year, having declared for her successor Carolus Gustavus, Prince Palatine, and her cousin.

In the same moon died the Prince of Orange, and soon after the Count d'Avoux, a French grandee, and minister of state.

In the mean time, I rejoice to hear that my old friends are alive and flourishing, and that the knot is not loosened which was tied in our youth. May it continue firm to the day of the earthquake, and to a term unlimited.

Paris, 29th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1651.

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XII.—*To KISUR Dramelec, Secretary of the Nazarene Affairs at the Porte.*

IN the name of God and his Prophet, what occasion hadst thou to send me such an angry letter, thou that art thyself but a slave, as I am, to the slaves of him whose throne is above the flight of the eagle ! Dost thou think to frighten Mahmut into sordid compliance with thy ambition, whom nothing can terrify, so long as he preserves himself free from any stain of disloyalty ? I tell thee, I am another Achilles, invulnerable all over, save the soles of my feet, which are the emblems of our most tender affections. There thou mayest wound me with the soft arrows of pretended friendship ; but if once thou appearest with the naked face of an enemy, I am presently on my guard.

Thou accusest me of many crimes whereof I was never

guilty, loadest me with a thousand undeserved reproaches, and all to vent thy choler ; threatening me with revenge, because I once excused the lateness of my address to Minnezim Aluph bassa, then newly vested by our munificent sultan, by laying the blame on the badness of the ways, or the insolence of soldiers, by whom the posts are often intercepted in time of war ; or, in fine, on thy neglect in not supplying me with more early intelligence ; wherein it is easy to discern that thou wert the last I would accuse to that minister, though thou wert principally in the fault ; for I was afterwards informed, that the posts were neither retarded by any impassable roads, or stopped by the orders of military men, but arrived here at their accustomed seasons ; wherefore thou hast no reason to be offended at me, unless it be for the shortness of my accusation, and that it was defective in malice.

Thou wouldst take it ill, if in my own defence I should complain to the Visier Azem of thy frequent neglects in this kind ; but I scorn to vindicate myself at the price of another man's disgrace and peril ; only, I advise thee to forbear threatening. It is a reflection on thy prudence to menace a man who has no other resentments of thy passion than to own himself obliged to thee for so open a discovery of it.

Wouldst have the very spleen of my humour ? I smile at thee. Thou hast made me as jocund as Democritus. If thou knowest not who I mean, he was a pleasant sort of a philosopher, to whom all human actions were objects of mirth. There was another whining sage that perpetually wept. The most comical passages, and such as moved all men to laughter, drew floods of tears from his eyes. His name was Heraclitus. It is hard to determine which of these two was in the right. But I think I am not much in the wrong to be a little pleasant with



thee ; perhaps it may put thee into a better humour. However, I would not have thee displeased with thyself for being of so peevish a disposition. It is observed, that passionate men are always best natured, and free from secret malice. Choler is as necessary as our blood : Without the latter we could not live ; and, if we were void of the former, our lives would be as inactive as that of snails and oysters ; we should be absolute drones.

Hippocrates, the famous physician, says, this complexion is the most noble of all the four, transforming men to heroes, and refining our earthly mould to a constitution like that of the immortal gods, whose bodies, according to the poets, consist wholly of an ethereal flame.

Therefore be not discouraged, neither repine at a temper which ranks thee among those to whom sacrifices are made. On the other side, take it not amiss from Mahmut, if he tells thee, he has not devotion enough to become thy voluntary victim.

Yet if I cannot be so obsequious as to throw myself away by acknowledging crimes wherein I was never concerned, and for which I have a natural abhorrence, rest satisfied at least that I will serve thee as far as I can, without intrenching on the duty I owe to the Grand Signior ; and be assured I will do thee no harm, so long as thou observest that rule.

In fine, I advise thee to order thy steps like a man that is walking in the bogs of Egypt, where, if he observe the track of those who have gone before him, he may be safe, but if his foot slips, he sinks in the mire. Such is the life of courtiers.

Paris, 18th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1651.

XIII.—*To MINEZIM ALUPH, Bassa.*

IN the beginning of the last year I sent thee a dispatch, wherein I acquainted thee with the imprisonment of three princes of the royal blood of France ; now thou shalt receive the news of their liberty.

They were released by an order from the king on the 13th day of this moon, and arrived in this city on the 16th, which was yesterday, attended by a numerous cavalcade, consisting of some princes, divers of the nobility and gentry, and, one would think, of half the citizens of Paris. Even those who triumphed last year, and made bonfires for their confinement, yesterday thronged out of the city to welcome them home with acclamations of joy, and to congratulate their release ; so fickle and inconstant a thing is the multitude, driven hither and thither with every artificial declaration of statesmen, or pretence of faction.

But there were divers princes and noblemen, who, from the first hour of their being seized, resolved not to leave a stone unturned to procure their freedom. The grantees that were their friends retired to their governments, and raised rebellions in the provinces. All the kingdom was harassed with civil wars. The parliaments decreed against the court ; and there wanted not cabals of seditious courtiers, even in the palace of the king, to undermine the royal authority, which the cardinal minister thought to establish by the imprisonment of the princes. In all places the king's interest ran retrograde.

Thou wilt not wonder at this, when thou shalt know, that the princes of France are not slaves to the king, like the bassas of the most serene empire, who owe all their greatness to the sole favour of our munificent sultans. These princes enjoy all that and more by inheritance,

which our grandees acquire only by their merits and the smiles of their sovereign. Hence it is that their interest is rivetted in the hearts of the people, who revere the blood royal in whatsoever channel it runs.

Therefore thinking men blame the cardinal's conduct in this affair, saying, there was neither justice or policy in it. Indeed, if a man's wit is to be measured by the success of his contrivances, the censure of these people is true; for the cardinal seems to have made a trap for himself.

As soon as he perceived the king was prevailed on by the importunity of his uncle the Duke of Orleans, and the parliament of Paris, to release the princes, and that they had at the same time earnestly begged of him that this minister might be removed from the court, he suddenly packed up his moveables, and withdrew privately towards the place where the princes were confined, hoping that, though he had lost his first point, yet he might make an indifferent after-game, by going in person to the royal prisoners, and assuring them, it was to him they owed their release, since it was in his power to carry them away with him, as also those who brought them the king's mandate; for he travelled not without a considerable guard.

It is said the princes received him with seeming compliments and address of civility, promising their friendship to the cardinal, now a voluntary exile, and in a worse condition than themselves.

It is very strange that so great a minister, who inherited all that absolute power which his predecessor Richlieu had at this court, should thus on a sudden abandon his fortune: But it is thought he is not gone to pick straws.

However, he had, by this timely flight, avoided the displeasure of seeing himself compelled to depart by an

arrest of Parliament, which was published within two days after he was gone, commanding him to depart the kingdom within fifteen days.

The wise minister foresaw this disgrace approaching, and therefore thought it more becoming his honour to depart of his own accord, having still the advantage to reproach the state with ingratitude, in that they have reduced to such straits the man by whose auspicious conduct France has been elevated to an extraordinary grandeur in Europe.

By this thou mayest comprehend, illustrious bassa, that there is no stability in human greatness, but that the wheels of a courtier's life run through unequal tracks, often sticking in the mire of the valley, and not seldom threatening to overthrow a man, and cast him headlong from the precipice of a mountain. Against these inconstant turns of fortune I advise thee to be armed with moderation, since no man can avoid his destiny.

Paris, 14th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1651.

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#### XIV.—*To ISOUF, his Kinsman, at Fez.*

I AM glad to hear thou art alive. Thy letter came in a good hour, for I bear a true affection to those of my blood, and have been particularly anxious for thee these many years. The sun has nine times measured the twelve signs of the zodiac since I received thy last letter before this, or heard any news of thee. It seems thou hast travelled a great part of the earth during that time.

It was kindly done of thee to remember thy sick uncle's request when thou wert at Aleppo, in making oblations for his health to Sheigh Boubac the fantone, and distributing corban to the poor, in honour of Syntana Fissa.

*Vol. IV.*

F

Thou hast sent me a large and satisfactory account of thy observations in Asia ; yet I am sorry thou hadst not time to penetrate into the religion and secrets of the Indian Bramins. I am more ambitious to pry into the wisdom and learning of those philosophers, than into any other species of knowledge whatsoever. Methinks it is pity the records of so vast an antiquity should be concealed from the rest of the world, and only known to those happy priests. I protest it is impossible for me to think of it without envy ; but perhaps it is the will of Heaven to lock up those mysteries in the remotest provinces of the East, as a reward of their constancy, in adhering to the traditions of their fathers, which know no origin, and as a reproach to all other nations, who, in matters of religion, have been mutable as the winds.

I have conversed with several Jesuits and others who have been in the Indies ; but they seem to relate all things partially, out of a natural aversion for the manners of the East ; and I knew not how to disprove them, till my brother Pesteli Hali undeceived me. He has also visited those parts, and resided a considerable time in China. It is a difficult thing for a traveller to keep himself within the bounds of truth in his relations ; but I believe he has not exceeded. Thy journal touches but lightly the Indian affairs, not having leisure, as thou tellest me, to observe much ; however, thou hast made amends in thy relations of Persia, Tartary, and the land of the Curds.

I depend much on thy promise of sending me a journal of thy travels in Afric. To that quarter of the world I am much a stranger, not having met with any authentic relation of the regions in the south.

It seems thou hast been in Ethiopia, Libya, Egypt, and, in fine, all over the torrid zone.



Historians tell wonderful things of these parts : Herodotus mentions a sort of people in Afric, whose bodies were more venomous than serpents. These, affronted once at the winds for driving the sands of Libya into their country, and filling up all their wells and streams, entered into a war against the kingdom of Æolus ; but the south-wind met them in their march, and buried them under mountains of dust.

I do not represent this to thee as a truth, though related by that learned Grecian. Thou mayest repute it for a fable, as I do ; but let this passage be a hint that I expect from thee none but solid remarks.

It would please me to be assured of one thing, which perhaps thou hast heard of when thou wast in Barbary. Very credible authors report, that when the Phœnicians were expelled by the Israelites, and driven into this corner of Afric, they set up two pillars of marble, whereon they engraved these words, as a lasting monument of their expulsion : “ We are a remnant of those who fled from the face of JOSHUA the robber, the son of NUN.”

The first invention of ships is by some ascribed to these people, whom necessity taught to seek rest on the unquiet ocean, since the more turbulent sons of Jacob would not permit them to enjoy any repose on the land, having harassed them from one place to another, till at length they drove them to the very borders of the earth ; but, thou knowest, the Chineses pretend to the use of ships many thousand years before this depredation of the Israelites. Every nation aims to be esteemed the most ancient ; and when there was formerly a dispute between the Egyptians and Scythians on this point, it was adjusted in favour of the latter. But the chronologies of the Chinese and Indians far exceed all others in the world, for they

seem to outstrip time itself in antiquity, at least, they transcend the common date of the world's creation.

I have heard a traveller assert, that as he was journeying through the deserts of Libya, he discovered an altar of stone, with this inscription on it, in Grecian characters: "I, POLYSTRATUS of Athens, have consecrated this altar to all that is good in heaven; and if that All be but ONE, as some say, may that ONE accept my vows."

I desire thee to inform me whether thou hast ever seen or heard of such an altar when thou wert in those parts. You travellers must expect this kind of trouble from your friends: Every body is naturally inquisitive and desirous of knowledge.

It will be acceptable also to send me an abstract of the present state of Fez. I should be glad to hear of the health of Abdel Melec Muli Omar, the superior of the magnificent college in that city, built by Al' Habu Ennor, king of the country. They say it cost him two hundred and forty thousand sequins.

It is added, that in Fez there is a mosque near half a league in circuit, in which are as many gates as there be days in the revolution of a moon; and that the number of the pillars which support it is equal to the year of the hegira wherein it was founded, being encompassed also by seventeen high minarets, besides innumerable domes and terraces; having also 900 lamps burning in it by night, and 300 windows to let in the light of the day. The revenue of this famous mosque is said to be 36,500 sequins a-year. They relate many other things of Fez, and the provinces belonging to it; of all which I desire thee to send me a distinct account.

I had almost forgot one passage, which I have read in the ancients, concerning a certain subtle African, whose name was Psaphon. This man had trained up a parrot

to repeat very frequently these words, "Psaphon is a great god." When the bird had perfectly learned his lesson, he let it loose, which being accustomed to a domestic life in a cage, fled not presently to the fields, but perched on the temple of the town, where it was heard by the people to utter the aforesaid sentence aloud, and very often. They, ignorant of the quality of parrots, and led with native superstition, esteemed it an oracle from Heaven; wherefore, immediately flocking to the house of Psaphon, they offered sacrifice to him, and in all respects treated him as a divinity.

Whether this story be true or no, it is certain idolatry had no better foundation than artifice and lies, unless we shall conclude with the poet, "That fear made the first gods in the world." Cousin, let there be a frequent intercourse between us; it will be profitable to thee and me.

Paris, 5th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1651.

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XV.—*To KERKER HASSAN, Bassa.*

IT is a custom in the court of Rome, that every nation of the West has a protector among the cardinals there, who are princes of the Roman church. Such I esteem thee in the most exalted court of the East.

Arabia gave thee thy first breath; but thy own merits have lifted thee up to the dignity of a bassa, a prince of the Ottoman empire, whose limits far exceed those of the modern, or even of ancient Rome.

It is from hence our countrymen address to thee as to their patron, using thy power and mediation with the Grand Signior in all their necessities.

Among the rest, wonder not that the humblest of thy slaves, Mahmut, the son of thy father's neighbour, falls at thy feet in a time of great distress, in the agonies of his spirit, the hazard of his fortune, and peril of his honour, which he values more than his life.

I complain not of the many repeated abuses and contempts I have received from some in the seraglio, to whom it belongs not to meddle with things out of their sphere, much less to discourage the faithful agents and missionaries of the Grand Signior : Yet the persecutions I have felt from their hands are such as would drive another man, less patient of injuries, either to revenge or despair.

They have vilified all my conduct in this station, reproached my best actions with the odious characters of imprudence and disloyalty, and misrepresented the smallest peccadillos, (for which also I have the mufti's dispensation) under the ignominious title of infidelity and atheism : In a word, they thirst after my blood ; nothing will satisfy their greedy malice but my life.

I never was afraid to die, since I perfectly understood what it is to live ; nor can I be fond of protecting my breath, when my great master shall please to call for a surrender of it, for whose service only it was given me. But it would render the scene of my death tragical, and strew my passage into the other world with thorns, to be sent out of this under the notion of a traitor, who have acted my part without a real blemish.

Ikingi, that learned tutor of the royal pages, was the first that broached this enmity against me (for I have forgot the prevarication of Shashim Istham, the black eunuch, since the time he acknowledged his fault with much candour and ingenuity). It was that Athenian sophist who debauched the integrity of my cousin Soly-

man, and persuaded the unwary youth to enter into a conspiracy against his uncle ; but I reprehended my kinsman's folly in one letter, and his answer, though late, convinced me that he was not guilty of malice, so much as of rashness and credulity. I was extremely obliged to the kaimacham for his benignity and friendship in this affair. The good old minister had a real kindness for me, and took no small pains to penetrate into the causes of my cousin's eager passion and malice against me. At length he found it to be only the practices of Ikingi, who took advantage of Solyman's temper, equally loyal and flexible, insinuated into his youthful mind monstrous ideas of me, and, in fine, set him a-railing at me with a fierce kind of liberty wherever he came. The wise bassá soon opened my kinsman's eyes, brought him to his sense, and the issue of all was, that Solyman writ me a letter of apology.

But since this, the master of the pages has laid new trains for me, and drawn a great many more to his party. He has corrupted Mustapha Guir, an eunuch, and page to the old queen, with whom I once held a correspondence, and, as I thought, had contracted a familiarity and friendship ; but it seems it was only an appearance without reality. I could give thee a long list of those whom this academic has taught to slander Mahmut, but I will not appear so revengeful ; besides, this is not the only grievance of which I complain.

Shall I remonstrate to thee, most excellent and serene bassá, the true cause of my uneasiness ? I am weary of living among infidels. Favour me with thy assistance and intercession, that I may have leave to retire from this place, and vindicate myself before the faces of my enemies ; and having had that honour, rendering also a just account of the affairs wherewith I am entrusted, I



may visit my native country, and spend the residue of my days in Arabia, the scene of all our prophet's great actions, the place where I first drew my breath. I languish for the aromatic air of Admoim, the crystal fountains, and cooler shades of that happy province. I long to see the groves which encompass the village of my nativity, the turrets of thy father's house, and the mosque of Hasen the prophet ; for though I took no notice of these things in my infancy, yet having once seen them in my riper years, when I was able to make more lasting reflections, I shall never forget these delightful objects so long as I live.

If this be an infirmity, pardon it, illustrious Arab, since it is natural to all men. Thou thyself hast enjoyed the pleasure of revisiting that sweet region ; pity Mahmut, who burns with desire to taste the same.

Or if this shall be thought too great an indulgence to the poor exiled Mahmut, yet it will be easy for thee, who art a favourite, to obtain of the Grand Signior, that I may at least be recalled from this employment, and somebody else substituted in my place. There are those among my enemies who are ambitious of the fatigue ; and Ikingi, my old friend, would exchange all the honours he is possessed of in the seraglio, for this obscure, yet hazardous post. It is pity but such a man's thirst of perils should be gratified.

But if, after all that I have said, my superiors shall think it expedient to continue me here, I am resigned ; only desiring, that from henceforth my slanderers may be suspected as men ill affected to the Sublime Porte, for traducing a man that has waded through a thousand difficulties, temptations, and perils, and served the Ottoman empire in this station fourteen years, without making a false step, or transgressing the least point of his instructions.

I hear that Chusaein Bassa is made Visier Azem. The French have a very great opinion of his valour; they are generally impartial critics in martial affairs, scorning to deny a brave enemy his due character.

We are at present barren of other news, save a new arrest of Parliament against Cardinal Mazarini, and all his kindred and creatures, whereby they are declared enemies to the state, and charged with a long catalogue of crimes, whereof perhaps they were never guilty.

Here are also some flying reports of the cardinal's death, who, they say, has poisoned himself for grief of his ill success in this court: but I esteem this only as the froth of his enemies malice, who really wish him dead; and, to discourage his friends, give it out that he is so.

Serene Bassa, I commit my affairs to thy protection, beseeching thee to do the office of a countryman and a friend to the betrayed for God.

Paris, 26th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1651.

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XVI.—*To CHUSAEIN BASSA, the Magnanimous Visier Azem, and Invincible General of the Ottoman Forces in Candia.*

I AM not much above forty-three years old, yet have seen great changes in the world, mighty revolutions in kingdoms and states, and the death of many sovereign monarchs, illustrious generals, and wise statesmen. Doubtless, all sublunary things are subject to vicissitude. There appears nothing constant and settled, but the heavens and stars; they indeed persevere in their immutable courses, never change their orbs, nor start from their eternal posts. The sun rises and sets at his accustomed hours, and the moon exactly observes the determined pe-

riods of her increase and wane ; these vary only as the seasons of the year, with exquisite regularity and constant returns.

But, here below, there is an universal transmigration and metempsychosis of states, and forms of things, a perpetual flux and reflux of human events. Men die hourly, and others are hourly born to supply their places. One age treads close upon the heels of another ; and we who live at present, as we walk in the steps of our fathers, so shall we follow them down to the grave, where our flesh, by a new metamorphosis, shall be turned into the bodies of worms, insects, and serpents ; and what shall become of our souls is uncertain.

I was born in the reign of Sultan Achmet, from whom our present sovereign is the sixth emperor that has ascended the glorious throne of the Ottomans. May God grant him a long life, and a series of years blessed with continual health, and victory over his enemies. I pray Heaven also to perpetuate thy new office to the last period of the sultan's life ; and, in wishing this, I say all that can be expected.

But when I reflect on the frequent and bloody tragedies that have been acted in the seraglio since I can remember, and the many sacrifices that have been made of sultans, visiers, bassas, and principal ministers of state, besides the massacres and butcheries of meaner persons, it makes me melancholy amidst the joys I conceive for thy late exaltation, and fills me with fears lest my good wishes to the Grand Signior and thee, who art his right hand, should, by some sinister decree of fate, be almost as soon disannulled as pronounced. I pray Heaven avert my melancholy presages.

The death of the old queen (the news of which is lately arrived at this court) does but revive, and increase my

apprehension of greater tragedies to come, because one act of cruelty still propagates another: revenge is prolific, and mischief is never at a stand. It is true, indeed, as it is not decent to insult over the ashes of illustrious persons, so neither has a loyal muffleman any great reason to mourn for the fall of a woman, by whose connivance her royal son, and our late great master, Sultan Ibrahim, fell a sacrifice to the mufti's indignation. It was an unnatural part in a mother; and we may say, the divine justice has overtaken her, in making her grandson sign the warrant for her death, with the consent of that very mufti at whose instigation she had consented to the murder of his father.

Yet, after all, may not she have left behind her a party in the seraglio, or at least in the state, who will study to revenge her fall, or, however, do some mischief to prevent their own? Let me not seem to contradict my own arguments, and, whilst I plead against revenge and cruelty, appear an advocate for those inhuman passions. I do not mention the surviving creatures of this unhappy queen, to excite in thee false sentiments of justice, suspicious chimeras of a possible conspiracy, and so stimulate thee to punish them by anticipation for crimes of which, perhaps, they never will be guilty. I rather suggest these things, that after so many tragedies in the royal family, a stop may be now put to future mischiefs; lest, whilst men pursue a particular and self-interested revenge, the contagion should spread, and cruelty become universal and infinite.

Let it suffice, that no less than three of our sultans have been deposed and strangled within these thirty years; not to mention the deluge of royal blood that has overflowed the private chambers of the seraglio, the prisons



of the Ottoman princes, brothers or sons to the emperors formerly reigning.

These were barbarous cures of untimely jealousies ; and it is pity that such royal massacres should ever be repeated again. Why should the posterity of Ottoman be in this regard the only unfortunate princes on earth ? Were it not much more noble, and equally wise, to take the measures of Ethiopian policy, where, to prevent sedition and discords about succession, the princes of the blood are confined indeed, but to a very pleasing liberty ; whilst they have palaces, parks, and large fields at command, are served by a princely train, and denied no lawful pleasures within the pale of their restraint ; for there is an exceeding high mountain in the country, the top of which is very spacious, containing large tracts of ground, many beautiful seraglios, furnished with whatsoever can contribute to the enjoyment of these princes, or at least to compensate for their want of greater liberty. - This mountain is environed with a high and strong wall, having but one entrance, and that guarded by soldiers, so that no man can go in or out who has not the emperor's warrant, or at least a permission from the prime minister of state ; for he, upon the death of the emperor, immediately calls a council of the supreme officers, who, from among these imprisoned princes, choose him whom they think most worthy to succeed. The rest, who never felt the appetite to reign (for they are carried to this place in their infancy, and kept in perpetual ignorance of state affairs), pass away their time without envy, or repining at the exaltation of their brother, addicting themselves wholly to the innocent delights of that rural life, or to the study of books, whereof they have great plenty in their libraries, and those altogether treating of matters of divine or natural speculation ; whereby, though they



know nothing of state artifices and intrigues of courts, yet they become able philosophers, and versed in all the liberal sciences.

Would to God our Ottoman princes (I mean the younger brothers) had but half this liberty granted them, then the infidels would have no reason to call the exalted Porte a nest of vultures.

But we must not find fault with the actions of our sovereigns, though they tend to the scandal and ruin of the mussulman empire. Yet I know to whom I write these things, having often heard thee declaim against this barbarous custom of shutting up the royal offspring in a dungeon, without light or comfort during their lives, which many time are also cruelly shortened by the hands of the executioner.

But turning our eyes from the tragedies of the East, let us fix them on the affairs of the Nazarenes in the West.

The chief discourse at present is about a marriage lately solemnized between the Emperor of Germany and the Duchess of Mantua. She is his third wife successively; for polygamy is not allowed, even to the sovereigns in these parts, where the priests bear all the sway.

The posts from Sweden inform us of the death of General Torstenson, of whose exploits in Germany thou hast often heard. That empire is very unfortunate, spending its time and vitals in unprofitable assemblies and consults, whilst her active enemies take whole provinces from her with ease; but this need not grieve us.

Great atlas of the mussulman empire, I wish thee the continence of Scipio, the fortune of Alexander, and the temperance of Cato; who, when he was marching through the sands of Libya with his army, all ready to expire with thirst, and one of his soldiers brought him his helmet full of water, as a rare present in that general

distress, gratified the soldier for his gift, but spilt the water on the ground, saying, That, since there was not enough to satisfy the whole army, he would not taste a drop; and that he was unworthy to be a general, who would not endure as much hardship as the meanest soldier.

Paris, 26th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1651.

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XVII. — To NASSOUFF, *Bassa of Natolia.*

PRAISE be to God, Lord of the seven Heavens, and of all that is within their circumference; these western Nazarenes are always a-quarrelling; they are resolved to do their parts towards the fulfilling the mussulman predictions, and those of their own prophets. It makes me smile to see these infidels employing their arms against each other, contending about petty rights and possessions, whilst they neglect the general conservation and defence of Christendom, from the impetuous torrents of our invincible armies.

The Elector of Brandenburg is entered into the Dutchy of Mons with considerable forces, pretending to adjust I know not what differences between those whom they call catholics and protestants.

It would be too tedious for a letter to run back to the first original of this war, and trace it down from above an hundred years ago to the present time. Besides, it is of no import to a mussulman to hear a long story of the marriages, deaths, heirs, and law-disputes of these petty infidel princes. Yet, that thou mayest know something of it, I will relate the whole business as briefly as I can.

In the year 1546, William Duke of Mons, Juliers, and Cleves, married Mary, the daughter of Ferdinand I. Emperor of Germany, and by this match obtained of

the emperor (whom they call Cæsar, as they did the ancient emperors of Rome, whose successor he pretends to be) some privileges touching the succession of his children, and their right to his dominions, and particularly that this vast estate should not be divided, but rest in the entire possession of one heir-male, or in default of that, it should descend to the next female, which, as I am told, is a custom in Germany, that so the grandezza, and authority of princely families may be supported.

I will not trouble thee with the particulars, which would take up a volume. But, in short, it appears, that notwithstanding all the strict provision that was or could be made, this great estate, after it had remained sixty years united, was at length divided between two princes, both claiming an equal right to the whole; yet to prevent wars and effusion of blood, each was contented with half. These were Wolfgang Duke of Newburgh, and Ernest, Marquis of Brandenburg; in whose families the parted succession has continued to this day.

The occasion of the present quarrel is their difference of religion; the Duke of Newburgh being a catholic, and he of Brandenburg a protestant. It seems, the Brandenburgishers had formerly made inroads on those of Mons and Juliers, carrying away captive their priests and dervises from their altars and convents, and detaining them in servitude for many years, contrary to certain articles that had been drawn up between them. They also used them with great cruelty, and committed a thousand insolencies on the Roman imaums, wherever they got them in their power.

Thus their affairs continued till the late agreement at Munster; since which time the Duke of Newburgh endeavoured to free his subjects from their former calamities, and restore things to their ancient state.

The Elector of Brandenburg, making this an occasion of war, has now invaded the dominions of the said duke. He is not gone in person, but has sent a good soldier, whom they call Otho Sparr, with four thousand men, to begin the campaign, who, it is said, will be followed by a greater army.

But before he took the field, the Elector of Brandenburg had an interview and conference with the Duke of Saxony about this affair, who is also a protestant; so that it is thought no small disturbance will arise in the empire. All joy and peace to true believers!

He of Brandenburg has caused a declaration to be spread abroad, full of specious pretences, that so his conquests may be the more easy. He talks of nothing but restoring the people of Juliers and Mons to their ancient liberties and rights, both in civil and religious matters, promising the fairest things in the world to those that obey him, and receive his armies with friendship; on the other side, threatening to treat those who resist him with the utmost severity that is due to traitors and rebels; and all this for the sake of two or three insignificant ceremonies and opinions wherein they differ; mere trifles, literal whimsies, the sport of their doctors, the spawn of wanton and luxuriant brains; for no greater was the original difference between the Lutherans and those of the Roman church. One will be saved by the strength of his fancy, which he calls faith, without doing any good work towards it; the other toils all his lifetime to merit Heaven, and thinks he can never do enough to obtain his end. He wears out the pavement of churches, and makes the skin of his knees like that of a camel, with perpetual kneeling and praying to images and pictures; and, after all, they may be both damned, for ought I know, for their ill lives. They tear and devour one ano-

ther like wild beasts, and think to gain paradise by their unnatural zeal.

The Duke of Newburgh has published a manifesto against the proceedings of Brandenburgh, and solicited the Duke of Lorraine's aid, as also that of Leopold, Archduke of Austria. What will be the issue no man knows; but oft-times a small spark kindles great fires; and it is not impossible, that this little feud may set the whole empire in a flame.

Mighty bassâ, I pray Heaven bless thee with peace, health, and thy due revenue. If these be not enough to make thee happy, I wish thee an increase of honours, and all the glorious fatigues which mortals court as their way to bliss.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1651.

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#### XVIII.—*To USEPH, Bassâ.*

SUSPECT me not: I have an equal esteem for thee, as I have for the other bassas and ministers of the divan; but I find it difficult to please any. They are captious, and every one would have all my letters addressed to himself; as if I were placed here to serve particular interests, and not the public. However, I cannot but acknowledge the tacit honour they do me, in being so covetous of poor Mahmut's correspondence. I wish I were in a condition to be more partial; then I would quickly make thee and some others sensible, which are the persons for whom I have a peculiar regard.

But as the case is at present, I must observe the instructions I have received, and by turns write to all.

Wherein, if I fail of arithmetical proportions, I will make amends by the rules of geometry: If I write but



feldom to some, I desire that the length of my letters, and solidity of the matter, may be accepted as a proper supplement.

But thou hast no reason to complain on this score, unless it be of thyself for travelling into remote countries, whither I know not how to follow thee with letters, or any other way. Besides, the former friendship that has been between us, is a sufficient counterscarp against all suspicion of neglect on my part, who am a thousand times obliged to thee for so many repeated favours. For the sake of God, therefore, and all that is good, wound my heart no more with these undeserved reproaches, but believe stedfastly that Mahmut can never be ungrateful and false.

Thy letter is a miscellany of friendly complaints and compliments: Thou givest me a character to which I do not pretend. It is true indeed, and I thank God and my good stars for it, that I was not born blind, deaf, or dumb. Nature gave me my senses free from any manifest defect; and I have an indifferent good memory. When I was young I had an inclination to read books, and fortune has since favoured me with many opportunities for that purpose. But I found the most profitable study to be that of MYSELF, to which all the laborious pains of the schools and academies serve only as a certain gradation and discipline. Nay, without these a man may attain all the knowledge that is necessary to the accomplishment of his nature; for so did the first philosophers, before books or letters were extant. If thou wilt be perfectly wise, read the ALCORAN, and the UNIVERSE; after that peruse THYSELF; thou wilt find matter of wonder and improvement in each; but most of all in the last; for man is a medley of all things.

Were this lesson well learned and practised in the court of France, there would not be so many little quarrels among these infidels; or at least such petty originals would not produce so many fatal consequences.

From the first time the Prince of Conde with his brothers were released from their imprisonment (whereof I have given an account to Minezim Aluph), there appeared much coldness in the queen's reception of them, and their addresses to her. On both sides they were at a loss how to behave themselves, for all their civilities were forced. It is true, there was a splendid umbrage of reconciliation; but it soon vanished. Their suppressed passions discovered themselves by degrees, and at length broke out into open enmity.

The queen appeared full of condescension and favours; but young Conde is as full of his merits and brave exploits, remembering what services he has done to this crown. Besides, he is not void of suspicion and jealousy, lest all those excesses of royal kindness are strained, only to render him more secure, and so entrap him a second time with greater advantage. The horror of his first imprisonment is yet fixed in his mind, from whence it will not be easy to efface it. Three principal servants of the queen were banished to remove his fears; for he imagined them to be instruments of correspondence between the queen and his old enemy Cardinal Mazarini. Yet she published a declaration, signifying, that the cardinal should be for ever banished, not only from the court, but from the kingdom.

And this moon, the king, being come of age, invited the prince to the ceremonies usual on such occasions; which Conde apprehended as a snare, and so fled out of Paris.

The event of these emergencies is yet in the sacred pages of destiny ; but in all likelihood a civil war will follow. People are whispering, caballing, and making parties on both sides. All the powder in Paris is engrossed and gone, but nobody knows by whom. Some say the prince is posted into Flanders ; others report, that he is retired to his own government, there to raise an army. The most knowing aver, that, wherever he is, he has two hundred thousand sequins in bank to give life to his new designs, let them be what they will.

Think not this news of small importance, serene bassa ; but when thou hearest of the civil wars among Christians, especially in the realm of France, the first and most victorious empire of the West, look on thy right hand and on thy left, for our holy Prophet, or his herald, is near at hand.

Paris, 22d of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1651.

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XIX.—*To SOLYMAN his Cousin, at Constantinople.*

THOU seest what thy libertinism has brought on thee. For my part, I am sick in reading thy letter, full of melancholy, and the worst kind of enthusiasm.

Hadst thou followed my advice, or, if that be contemned, hadst thou but obeyed the precepts of thy father, an honest man, and one that went down to the grave in peace, thou wouldest have lived as happily as other men ; but now thou art overwhelmed with hypochondriac vapours, and dreams of a sickly brain. I counsel thee to purge thyself with hellebore, for thou hast more need of that than of books. In all my life, I never heard such religious nonsense from a mussulman, as thy last letter is stuffed with.

I have not patience to make repetitions, or answer every particular whimſy of thine. But in God's name, what makes thee fright thyſelf with ſuch a wrong notion of hell? It is a common maxim in nature, that nothing violent is permanent. Either therefore the pains of the damned are not infinitely intense, or elſe they are not eternal in their duration. Thou wilt ſay, the Alcoran itſelf aſſerts the eternity of thoſe torments; but doſt thou underſtand the figurative manner of ſpeech uſed in that divine book, and in all our Eaſtern writings? Is it not common to call a very high mountain, the mountain of God? as if all the mountains and valleys of the earth were not equally his. So, to expreſs an uncertain length of time, it is cuſtomary to uſe the epithet, eternal. Thus we, in ordinary converſation ſay in Arabia, I will love you eternally; I will ſerve you, fight for you, &c. eternally; and the ſame of the contrary paſſions; and yet we all know we ſhall live but a few years.

But granting that the Alcoran ſpeaks in a literal ſenſe, it does not follow, that thoſe pains are without intervals of reſt. We read of the tree zacon, which grows in the centre of hell; but who will interpret what is underſtood by this plant?

Couſin, make uſe of thy reaſon, and praſtiſe the beſt things. As for our condition after this life, trouble not thyſelf, for no man knows what will become of him when he goes hence: However, we cannot believe the Supremely Merciful delights in cruelty.

There is a path which the eagle has not winged, nor the ſerpent traced, though it is obvious to both; but their own raſhneſs blinds them, and they cannot diſcern the way of the wiſe. There are men of towering ſpeculations, and others very crafty; yet neither one nor the other can grope out the direct road to bliſs. If I may

advise thee, let nature be thy guide. Do nothing but what humanity prompts thee to : It is this alone distinguishes thee from other animals. Honour the memory of thy deceased parents, love thy friends, and be generous to thy enemies ; do justice to all men ; observe the purifications and prayers prescribed by the law ; but give no credit to the fables of infidels. It is common here among the Christians to paint hell with horrid flames and devils flying up and down with red hot prongs, to toss the damned from fire to fire ; and their preachers make long and direful harangues on the same subject ; when, all the while, neither they nor we know what or where hell is, or after what manner the wicked shall be chastised.

Only the illuminated of God have this standard of truth, that both our pains and pleasures after this life, shall be exactly proportioned to our virtues and vices. There is no malice or injustice in the good Creator of all things.

Cousin, once again, let thy senses be awake, and suffer not thy reason to dream of things which have no existence ; for, assuredly, God is the most impartial judge of the universe.

Paris, 22d of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1651.

XX.—*To ENDEL AL' ZADI JAAF, Beglerbeg of Dierbekir.*

I HAVE not the honour to know thee in person, but have heard of thy fame. So mortals are unacquainted with the secrets of the fixed stars, yet we observe their lustre and rank, and the figure they make in those remote worlds.



Thy exploits among the Curds and Georgians are not unknown in these parts. The Franks, that travel in the East, have transported hither such a character of thy magnanimous actions, as makes all men of honour in love with thee; and I have conceived a particular veneration for thy virtues. May God increase them with thy hours, and grant thee a monopoly of bliss.

Thou art placed in an eminent seat, and mayest with reason be called lord of lords, as thy title imports; for thou art possessor of the terrestrial paradise, if we may give credit to the tradition of the ancients. They tell us, that for a time Adam dwelt there, with his second wife; and that the particular place of his abode was an island, encompassed with the rivers Euphrates, Tygris, Pison and Gihon; from whence it was called Mesopotamia by the Greeks, which signifies, a region environed with rivers.

All the west of Asia have a profound respect for this country. And the Jews relate strange stories of a tree in Dierbekir, which grew five hundred miles high in the days of Adam; which they say, was cut down by an angel, lest man should climb to Heaven by it before his time; for, it seems, ambition was a vice early as our nature; and Adam was no sooner sensible that he was a man, but he aspired to be a God, or something like one. So great a charm there is in honour and authority.

They say also, that Abraham was born in this region; however, it is certain, if there be any certainty in records and histories, that he resided there a considerable time. But thou knowest best what traditions thy subjects have of these things.

The Chinese and Indians laugh at all this, as a romance of later date than their chronicles, which make those extremities of the East to be the stage of the first

mortals. Instead of Adam and Eve, or Alileth, they assert the names of the original parents of mankind to be Panzon and Panzona, whose offspring, they say, continued ten millions of years, but at length were all destroyed from the earth by a tempest from Heaven: After whom, they tell us, God created Lontizam, a man with two horns, each as big and tall as a tree in that country, which they call the plant of God, being the largest and first of all vegetables. This man's horns being prolific, according to their tradition, out of the right sprang a thousand men every day for a hundred years, and as many women out of the left in the same space; from whom descended all mortals of both sexes to this day; though we are much diminished in bulk, through the general decay of human nature; for these people affirm, that the first race of men were all giants; but that, through intemperance and other vices, their offspring shrunk by degrees into smaller dimensions, till at length they arrived at the present stature, and appeared like pygmies, in comparison of the primitive sons of Lontizam. In confirmation of this, the Indians shew to travellers some of their temples hewn out of vast rocks, with the images of those gigantic men, who they say were employed in the work. These they honour as heroes, or demi-gods.

I do not relate this for truth, but only to divert thee, in representing the different opinions of men. God only knows how to separate the truth from falsehood in histories.

But to return to Dierbekir: This country is famous for the tower of Babel, built by Nimrod and his followers; at what time the languages were confounded, as Moses relates. It is remarkable also, for the battle fought between the Parthians and Romans at Harran,

and for the death of Caracalla, the son of Severus, Emperor of Rome, who was murdered by Macrinus, the Roman general. These emperors were all called Cæsars, as the kings of Egypt were called Pharaohs and Ptolemies. It seems the word Cæsar was first applied to Julius the Roman dictator, for that his mother dying under the pains which were to give him life, her belly was ripped up, and he drawn forth from her womb by the hands of a surgeon, in memory of which, he and all his successors were called Cæsars; that word signifying, Drawn forth by violence. But whatsoever the manner of his birth was, this is certain, that he, and forty of his successors, were hurried out of the world by untimely deaths; for they either laid violent hands on themselves, or were murdered by traitors.

If thou wouldest have any news out of these parts, the chief discourse at present is, of a great victory obtained by the Polanders against the Cossacks and Tartars. And I could wish this were all; but the Nazarenes are continually made joyful with the success of the Venetians against the arms of the invincible empire. They beat us by sea, and baffle all our attempts by land. We have not got an inch of ground in Candia, during the last campaign, but lost many thousands of men, and brought the name of the Sublime Porte and victorious mussulmans into contempt and scorn. Where the fault lies, God knows. It is too melancholy a theme to insist on particulars.

Don Juan of Austria has also besieged Barcelona by sea and land.

Several arrests of parliament are here published against the Prince of Conde and his adherents; and it is reported the King will recal Cardinal Mazarini from his banishment.

Illustrious prince and governor of a happy region, I beg thy favourable construction of this address. And thus, in reverence, I desist, full of dutiful and affectionate vows for thy prosperity.

Paris, 19th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1651.

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### B O O K III.

LETTER I.—*To ABDEL MELECH MULI OMAR, President of the College of Sciences at Fez.*

THOU hast formerly received a letter from me, wherein I mentioned the tenets of a certain French philosopher, who maintains that the earth moves like the rest of the planets, and the sun stands still, being the centre of this our world ; for he asserts that there are many.

The name of this sage is Des Cartes, renowned throughout the world for his learning and knowledge. He lays as a basis of all his philosophy this short position and inference, “ I think, therefore I am.” In this alone he is dogmatical, allowing a lawful scepticism in all the uncertain deductions which may be drawn from it.

Pardon me, oraculous sage, if I expose before thee my infirmities. I am naturally distrustful of all things ; this temper puts me upon perpetual thinking ; and that very act convinces me of the truth of my being, according to the method of this philosopher. But what I am, I know not : Sometimes I fancy myself no more than a dream or idea of all those other things which men commonly believe do really exist, a mere imagination of possibilities ; and that all which we call the world is but one grand chimera, or nothing in masquerade.

At other times, when these wild thoughts are vanished, and my spirits, tired in the pursuit of such abstracted whimsies, begin to flag, and that my lower sense, awaked by some present pain or pleasure, rouses my sleeping appetites; when I am touched with hunger, thirst, or cold, or heat, and find experimentally I am something that cannot be a mere thought or dream, but of a composition which stands in need of meat, drink, garments, and other necessities; then, rather than fret myself with vain and endless scrutinies, I tamely conclude I am that which they call a man; I lay the sceptic aside, and, without any farther scruples or doubts, fall round to eating, drinking, or any other refreshments my nature craves for.

But no sooner have I tasted these delights, when my old distemper returns again. I then consider myself as a being capable of happiness or misery in some degree, as I shall possess or want those very delights I just before enjoyed. This is a sufficient damp to a thinking man, when he knows that he stands in need of any thing out of himself; but it is far greater, when he will take the pains to number all the train of his particular necessities, which he is not sure he shall always be able to supply.

This makes me presently conclude, that, as I am indebted to other creatures for my sensible happiness, so I owe my very being to something beside myself. I examine my original, and find I am born of men and women, who were in the same indigent circumstances as myself, and that it is not only so with my particular family, but with all mankind; our whole human race being born natural mendicants from the womb. As soon as we breathe the vital air, we cry, and with these inarticulate prayers, beg for help and protection from others,



without whose generous aid we could not subsist a moment; so poor and beggarly a thing is man from his birth. This is the condition of all: neither is a king any more exempt from this common character of mortals, than the slave who sweeps the streets.

If I could have rested in this thought, I should have been happy; for it would have had this influence on me, either to convince me that I ought to be content with the condition to which I was born, or to rid myself out of so despicable a state by death.

But alas! one thought produces another; and, from the contemplation of our present misery in this life, I fall to thinking what will become of us after death. For as we know not what or where we were before we came into this world, so there is no human certainty whither we shall go, or in what condition we shall be, when we leave it; and therefore it would be an unpardonable madness, to throw myself headlong into a state of which I have no account; and, to avoid the little miseries of this life, which must have an end one time or other, cast myself down a precipice (for aught I know) of intolerable torments, which has no bottom.

I hear the philosophers talk of immortality, the poets of Elysium, the Christian priests of heaven, hell, and purgatory, the Indian bramins of transmigration; but I know not what or which I have reason to believe of all these.

I speak after the manner of philosophers, for, if we come to faith, the case is altered. Think not, I beseech thee, that I call in question the sacred oracles, the revelations of the sent of God; but I only acquaint thee how my natural reason hatters me with doubts.

I see men every where professing some religion or other, paying divine honours to some superior being or be-

ings, according as they have been educated, which many times tempts me to think, that religion is nothing but the effects of education.

Then I wonder how men, when they come to years of discretion, and their reason is able to distinguish between things probable, and mere romances, can still retain the errors of their infancy. It is natural for children to be wheedled or awed into a belief of what their parents, nurses, or tutors teach them ; but, when they come of age, they soon rectify their misled understandings in all things, save the affairs of religion. In this they are children still, tenacious of the sacred fables of their priests, and obstinate in maintaining them, sometimes even to death.

It puzzles me to find out the cause of so strange an effect, that men, otherwise endowed with mature judgment, and an extraordinary sagacity in all things else, should yet be fools in matters of religion, and believe things inconsistent with the common sense and reason of mankind. I could never give credit to the histories of the ancient pagans, which acquaint us with the devout adoration they paid to the creatures of the painter or carver, did I not see the same practised among the Christians ; or that those wise men of old could swallow the forgeries of their priests, concerning their gods and goddesses, were I not an eye-witness how bigotted the modern Nazarenes are to the legends of their saints, and the Jews to those more ridiculous figments of the Talmud.

It perplexes me to see mankind generally labouring under so great a darkness, not so much the effect of ignorance as of superstition ; to behold men well versed in sciences, and all kinds of human learning, yet zealous asserters of manifest contradictions in matters of divinity,

rather than oppose, or so much as examine, the traditions of their fathers.

When I behold mankind divided into so many innumerable different religions in the world, all vigorously propagating their own tenets, either by subtlety or violence, yet few or none seeming by their practice to believe what they with so much ardour profess, I could almost think, that these various ways of worship were first invented by politicians, each accommodating his model to the inclinations of the people whom he designed to circumvent.

But when, on the other side, I consider there appears something so natural and undisguised in the furious zeal and unconquerable obstinacy of the greatest part, I am as ready to join with Cardan, and conclude, That all this variety of religions depends on the different influence of the stars. This was a famous philosopher in Europe, and held, that the religion of the Jews owed its original to the forces of Saturn, that of the Christians to Jupiter, and ours to Mars ; as for the Pagans, he assigns to them many constellations and aspects.

Thus there is so equal an appearance of truth and falsehood in every religion, that I should not know how, in human reason, to fix on any.

Superstition renders a man a fool, and scepticism is enough to make him mad. To believe all things is above reason ; to give credit to nothing is below it : I will keep the middle path, and direct my faith by my reason.

That faculty tells me, that, if I were inclined to adore the sun, moon, and stars, for their beauty and influence, I might on the same ground worship my own eyes, without which I could not behold their tempting splendours ; or, I might as well pay divine honour to that more intimate sense, my feeling, or any of my other senses, which

only render me capable to know the virtue of these luminaries. The same may be said of the elements, and all visible beings.

What then shall I adore, or to whom shall I return thanks for all the blessings I enjoy? for even in this miserable life I taste some happiness. To what being, I say, shall I address my vows and supplications, for all the good that I possess and want? Is it to any thing that I have seen or can see, or that I can represent to myself under a figure? Is it to any part of the universe, or no? No. To the whole complex together? No. I have a thousand kind thoughts for the sun, moon, and stars, for the elements, and many other compound creatures. My soul, and that of the world, are unisons. But it is the profound depth of eternity, the infinite, and immortal, who is the diapason, and makes perfect harmony.

To that being which has no resemblance, neither is divided into parts, nor circumscribed with limits, whose centre is every where, circumference no where, who hath neither beginning nor end; to the only Omnipotent, from whom all other things flow, and to whom they all return; to Him I owe all that I have, and will pay what I can. And something by his determination I am indebted, and will discharge it to thee, orient light of the Morefco mussulmans; that is, the duty of an humble slave, in begging pardon for this presumption.

Paris, 14th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1652.

## II.—*To the KAÏMACHAM.*

IT was the contemplation of Isouf Eb'n Hadrilla, an Arabian philosopher, that all men were at first created in a state of war; for this sage gave no credit to the writings of Mo-

ses, the Jewish historian and prophet ; neither could any arguments persuade him to believe, that all mortals descended from Adam. It was an article of his faith, that in the infancy of the world men were formed of the prolific slime of the earth, impregnated by the vigorous warmth of the sun. and that all other animals had their original in the same manner ; but that, in process of time, the richness of the seminal soil being exhausted by a continual spontaneous production of living creatures, there was no other way to perpetuate the various kinds of beings, and multiply the individuals, but by the ordinary method of generation ; for which reason nature seems to have subdivided every species into two sexes.

Hence this philosopher concludes, that at first there was no nearer relation between man and man, than there is now betwixt a lion and a sheep, or any other different kinds of animals ; saving only, that as these are distinguished by their forms, into four-footed beasts, fowls, fishes, and creeping things, so men assumed to themselves the character of rational creatures ; and a principle of self-preservation was the first ground of a tacit and common league between men, against the rest of their fellow-animals, especially against those which made a more frightful figure on earth than we do, and seemed more rapacious, and inclined to mischief, such as dragons, tigers, bears, lions, &c.

But notwithstanding this general association of our race against the more savage and fierce troops of beasts, yet one man still stood upon his guard against another ; and all the sons of the earth endeavoured to maintain the posts which nature had allotted each man ; that is, the place where he was first formed, and drew breath. But things could not last long in this state ; for either by instinct or reason, (call it which you will, says this author)



men being straitened for want of fruits, or spurred on by some secret desire of novelty, soon went out of their bounds, and encountered each other, more by chance than design; whence arose the first occasions of actual war; for every stranger appeared like an invader; they naturally startled and suspected each other; reciprocal passions of choler sprung in their breasts; and every man, to prevent the effect of his own fears and apprehensions, rushed on his neighbour, who was, on the same ground, as ready for an assault as himself. Thus an universal war commenced in the world, which, by various methods of improvement, was carried on by the succeeding generations, and continued to the present times.

As for the original of governments, the particular time cannot be determined; but it may be supposed, that men generally finding the inconvenience of these private personal combats, and by degrees arriving to greater maturity of experience, formed themselves at first into little societies and friendships, or as they dwelt near one another, or as they agreed in some common inclinations, principles, and interests; from which small associations, they gradually spread into larger communities, living under certain laws and obligations of mutual peace, justice, and assistance toward each other, and of defence against their common enemies; some living under the form of a commonwealth, others of a monarchy; each body of men setting up such a model, as best suited their own interests and necessities. From hence sprung the distinction of nations, kingdoms, and empires. Thus far the Arabian philosopher.

But without inquiring into the truth of his principles, one would think, that some of the western Nazarenes were his disciples; and indeed all civil dissensions seem to be grounded on the same maxims; whilst men, on the

least discontent or jealousy, lay aside the obedience they owe to their sovereigns, claiming I know not what natural right to defend themselves against the encroachments and usurpations of others.

Thus no sooner was it supposed here, that the king intended to recal Cardinal Mazarini from his exile, but the parliament of Paris, who are secret friends to the Prince of Conde, published an arrest against the cardinal, whereby all persons are forbid to contribute towards the return of this minister; and ordering, that his library, with all his moveables, should be sold, to raise a sum of an hundred and fifty thousand livres, which is promised as a reward to those who shall either take him prisoner, or kill him. They also petitioned the Duke of Orleans to make the utmost use of his authority against the cardinal, who thereupon raised considerable troops, and gave the command of them to the Duke of Beaufort.

In the mean time, the cardinal is not idle, but, with what forces he has, performs some considerable action in his own defence. He has taken prisoner an eminent counsellor of parliament. The parliament sent a trumpet to demand his release. This messenger was rejected; whereupon the parliament are taking new methods.

The Prince of Conde has sent a letter and request to the parliament, desiring them to suspend the execution of the arrest published against him, since the time given him to lay down his arms was not yet expired, and that the cardinal was returned into the kingdom, contrary to a prohibition signed by the king.

But notwithstanding all these traverses, Mazarini is come again to the court, which is now kept at Poitiers, where he was received with infinite respect and caresses, by the king, the queen, and all his friends. Animosities daily increase between the different parties; private

grudges are improved to public factions; an universal peevishness has possessed the hearts of the French nation; they are alarmed and offended at one another's looks: If a man smile too much, or too little, in conversing with his friend, it is enough to give him the character of an enemy, or at least to render him suspected; so that he who would live peaceably here, at this juncture, had need to be well skilled in all the secrets of physiognomy, and make frequent use of his looking-glass, lest any oblique cast of his eye, or satirical writhing of his nose, should be interpreted for symptoms of hidden malice; for now they will spy treason in every feature of a man's face.

As for me, when I go abroad, I conform to all companies, yet alter not my address; I neither play the ape, nor counterfeit a statue; but, observing a medium, I pay a civil respect to all, without being courtly or rude, for this carriage best suits with my circumstances. Hence it is, that nobody suspects the plain, deformed, blunt, crook-backed Titus of Moldavia, to be what I am really, Mahmut, the slave of the exalted Porte.

Paris, 14th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1652.

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### III.—*To the REIS EFFENDI, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

THE prince of Conde's taking up arms, has more puzzled the counsels of the king of France, and more embarrassed his affairs, than any occurrence that has happened since the death of his father.

I have already informed the Kaimacham, and others, of all passages hitherto relating to these intestine broils; since which they seem to be improved into a war, wherein foreign nations take a part. After the return of Car-

dinal Mazarini to this court, the Prince of Conde was driven to great straits, being-compelled by the swift marches of the king's army to retire to Bourdeaux; where, considering that it would not be so much his interest to keep this place, as to increase his forces, he sent envoys to the King of Spain, and Archduke Leopold in Flanders, to desire their assistance.

The former immediately dispatched away orders for a considerable body of men to approach the confines of Gascoigne, where the prince had a great interest; and the latter sent him eight thousand men, to act on the side of Flanders, and toward Paris, as occasion offered. This is the particular game of the Spaniards, to take advantage of the civil wars in this kingdom, that so, by assisting the weaker party, they may balance the contesting powers of the nation, and keep them in a perpetual quarrel; whilst in the interim they gain ground, recover the places which the French took from them in time of domestic peace, and so pave the way to new conquests.

In the mean time, the parliament sent deputies to the king, beseeching him to remember his royal word, by which he had for ever banished Cardinal Mazarini, and representing to him the fatal consequences which were like to proceed from his return; but the king, instead of complying with their requests, caused an edict of council to be published, which justified his conduct in this matter.

He also wrote a letter to the parliament, full of complaints, that they had not yet published any order to hinder the entrance of a foreign army into the kingdom; but all signified nothing to men passionately bent to maintain the Prince of Conde's quarrel against their sovereign. He has but few trusty men in that senate, and



they are overawed by the rest ; besides, the Duke of Orleans bears a strange sway, both in the parliament and country.

At the instigation of the prince, the citizens of Orleans shut up their gates, when they heard the king was coming that way in his return to Paris : yet the country was open for the Prince of Conde, a subject ; he travelled up and down the provinces, to make new interests, and confirm the old, leaving the command of his army in Gasconie to his brother the Prince of Conti.

There have been many skirmishes and encounters between the king's forces and those of the malcontents, and one fierce combat, wherein the Prince of Conde defeated the vanguard of the king's army, as he was marching to this city ; whereby, getting the start of his sovereign, he arrived here, and was received in the parliament, whilst the monarch was forced to lie encamped in the field.

The prince found a different reception, according to the various humours of people : The greatest part favoured him ; and he received infinite caresses from the citizens of Paris ; but met with some opposition from persons of higher rank, and more stedfast loyalty to the crown. The Duke of Orleans is his greatest friend, and one for whom the parliament have a great deference ; not so much in contemplation of his wit and policy, as for the sake of his near relation to the crown, he being uncle to the present king ; whereby he has a right to assume more authority than others, in regulating the disorders of the court, among which the greatest is esteemed that of Cardinal Mazarini's return.

In a word, both parties serve themselves of those who have the greatest interest, and are most likely to compose the quarrel. The exiled queen of England and her son,



who have taken sanctuary in this kingdom from the persecutions of their own subjects, make it their business to mediate between the court party and the faction of the princes.

The Prince of Conde also sent deputies to the king, to represent to him, that the only means to give quiet to the state, was to banish the cardinal minister; and, as they were delivering their address, Mazarini came in, at the sight of whom they aggravated their charge, and said to his face, "That he was the cause of all the evils which the kingdom suffered." The cardinal, interrupting them, turned to the king, and said, "Sir, It will not be just that so flourishing a kingdom, and to whose grandeur I have contributed all that lay in my power, should ruin itself for my sake; therefore I humbly entreat your majesty to grant that I may return to my own country, or whithersoever my fortune shall call me." "No, no, replied the queen (not without some passion), this cannot be granted: The king had never more need of your counsels than at this juncture: We cannot consent, that so serviceable a man should be banished only to humour his enemies; therefore let us hear no more of that."

The deputies, perceiving nothing of hope, returned to Paris. Then the parliament deputed others to go to the king, and remonstrate the deplorable state of the realm: This was done a few days ago.

In the mean time, we have been alarmed here in the city with daily insurrections of the multitude. The occasion was, some private orders which the Duke of Orleans had given to the provost of the merchants, relating to his charge, and the welfare of the city. This being misunderstood by the people, who have not the sense to distinguish the good offices of their governors from in-

juries, put them all into a tumult. They assaulted the provost in his coach, as he was passing the streets; and, had he not escaped into an apothecary's shop, they would, perhaps, in their fury, have torn him in pieces; for so they served his coach, as an after revenge.

I am weary of beholding the malicious quarrels of these infidels; but when I consider, that their discords will be instrumental to the future conquests of the true believers, I am patient and resigned.

However, it is one comfort to me in this thorny station, that one time or other, instead of the perpetual jangling of bells in Paris, I may again have the happiness to hear the muezins cry on the minarets in Constantinople, "There is but one God, and Mahomet his Prophet." Or if I shall not live to enjoy this wish, yet, in the invisible state, I shall hear the same cry, and shall be past doubt of those things, whereof I have no certainty in this life.

Paris, 29th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1652.

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IV.--*To CARA HALI, Physician to the Grand Signior.*

THE Christians seem to have too proud an opinion of themselves, and set a greater value on human nature than suits with reason. They assert, that all things were made for man, and style him lord of his fellow-creatures; as if God had given him an absolute dominion over the rest of his works, especially over the animal generations, and that all the birds of the air, beasts of the earth, and fish of the sea, were created only to serve his appetite, and other necessities of life. I remember a letter I formerly sent to thee, wherein I discoursed of the Cartesian philo-

sophers, and their contempt of the beasts, in denying them souls, or the use of reason.

Give me leave to entertain thee now, and divert myself, with some farther remarks on this subject. It is a refuge from melancholy, when I can thus freely discover my thoughts to a friend, who I know will not be partial to the truth.

I have been long an advocate for the brutes, and have endeavoured both to abstain from injuring them myself, and to inculcate this fundamental point of justice to others. This is owing to the example and philosophy of Mahummed, the Eremite in Arabia, that light and glory of religious men : And, were it not that my humour is to be doubtful in all things, the influence of his conversation would make me a professed Pythagorean, a disciple of the Indian bramins, a champion for the transmigration of souls.

The last letter, save one, I writ to that solitary, was upon this subject ; such an one as would divert him in his cave. It contained an account of the primitive manner of life practised by the ancients, a narrative of the golden age, a history of human innocence, and the steps which men first took to use violence and cruelty to their fellow-creatures. Now I will present thee with some additional observations, some remnants of antiquated truth, gleaned from philosophers and historians, and winnowed from the chaff of error and superstition.

Who would not believe the beasts to be endowed with reason, when he beholds them perform all the actions of rational creatures, with more caution, though less pride, than men ? They are more provident than we, and much more subtle in avoiding any affliction or danger. Witness Thales the philosopher's mule, which he often employed to carry salt to a certain market ; but the cunning beast,

finding herself overloaded, when she was passing through a river, lay down, whereby the water, penetrating into the sacks of salt, melted it away, and lightened her burden ; and this was her constant practice, till the philosopher, perceiving himself thus outwitted by his beast, was resolved to circumvent her another way ; wherefore, instead of salt, he loaded her with wool, which he knew would grow heavier by being wet ; but the wary mule, sensible of the difference of her burden, would couch no more in the water, but, seeing no other remedy, went forward on her journey.

Who will not admire the wisdom of the fox in cold countries, which the inhabitants use as a guide when they would pass over any frozen lake or river ? For this creature going before them, lays her ears close down to the ice, and listens to try if she can hear any motion or noise of the water running underneath ; which if she does, she will not venture on the ice ; but, if all be still, then by a logical deduction she concludes the ice is thick enough to bear passengers ; and so she leads the way, whilst the men follow.

When a dog is hunting in the thick woods, and by chance comes to a place where three paths meet, he first scents the one, then the other ; and perceiving that the game is not gone by any of those two ways, he throws himself swiftly forward in the third, without such a particular application of his nose ; which is an evident argument, that he makes use of the like choice we ourselves should do.

And now I have mentioned this creature, I cannot forbear celebrating their virtue and fidelity, whereof we have daily experience ; and there are many pleasant examples recorded by grave historians.

Such is that of Hyrcanus, a dog belonging to Lyfi-

machus, who would never depart from the body of his dead master, but, following it to the funeral pile, leaped into the fire, and was burned for company.

But the gratitude of a lion to a certain slave in Rome is beyond all parallel : This slave was one of those who were appointed to combat with wild beasts in the amphitheatre, according to the custom of the ancient Romans, in the public shows which were exhibited to the people. As soon as the lion was let loose in the pavement, he ran furiously at the slave, but coming nearer, he stopped on a sudden, as one astonished ; then he came gently towards the slave, fawning upon him, and licking his hand, which caused all the people to give a shout. The emperor being present, and taking notice of the seeming friendship and acquaintance that was between the slave and the lion, sent for the slave, and inquired the occasion of so strange an accident ; to whom the slave made the following relation :

“ My name, said he, is Andredus, and I am slave to a certain proconsul, who having determined to kill me, I made my escape, and hid myself in a cave, where I had not lain long before this lion, which you now see, came in, being very lame of one foot. As soon as he spied me, he came limping towards me, and stretched forth the paw that was wounded, as though he begged of me to ease him. Affrighted as I was, I took his paw in my hand, and pulled out a great ragged thorn which stuck fast in it ; then I washed the wound with my own water, whilst he lay very patiently till I thoroughly dressed it. The ease he found by my application made him fall asleep ; and when he awaked, he licked my hands, and showed other signs of affection and gratitude. I lived with him thus three years in that cave, and every day he brought me a share of his prey, on which I sustained my-



self: But at length tired with this manner of life, I took my opportunity when he was gone abroad to make my escape. I wandered up and down three days; when a company of soldiers meeting with me, and knowing to whom I belonged, took me, and brought me hither to my old master, who has condemned me to this cruel death. But it seems fortune so ordered it, that this lion should be taken about the same time, and appointed to be my executioner this day; yet you see he refuses to perform his office out of gratitude to me for my former kindnesses."

The emperor, astonished and pleased at this passage, gave the slave his life and freedom, bestowing also the lion on him, which brought him in a constant livelihood, by showing him to all people, who, having heard of this wonderful accident, were desirous to see both the lion and his tenant, for so they stiled the slave, and some called him the lion's physician.

I should think I had said enough already to tire thy patience, and make thee forswear reading my letters for the future, were I not well acquainted with thy genius, and know that thou delightest in relations of this nature, being no enemy to the harmless brutes.

Whatever thy sentiments are towards these, I dare be sure thou art my friend, and wilt bear with my importunity, when I strive to convince all men, and confirm myself in this truth, that the wild beasts are not void of reason and moral virtue.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1654.

V.—*To the CAPTAIN BASSA.*

IN the name of God, superlatively indulgent and benign, lord of armies which cannot be numbered, conservator of the empire founded on his own unity ; praise be to him that has neither beginning nor end ! what is the reason that we are always baffled by the infidels ? Every year our august emperor sends out mighty armies by land, and our fleets by sea are termed invincible, yet they are still overcome by the Christians. Where the fault lies is best known to thee, and the generals, to whom the command of all is committed.

My spirit is disquieted about these things, and I am uneasy by day, neither does the night afford me any repose. This hot weather I go up to the terrace of my house at the hour of sleep, thinking that the coolness of the air would incline me to rest ; but I can find none : I turn myself on the leads to the right hand and to the left, yet all postures are alike ; sleep has abandoned my eyes ; my zeal for the empire of the faithful will consume me.

One night I made solemn preparations to welcome the first appearance of the moon, after the manner of my countrymen. I sprinkled water on the floor of the terrace, and with a new besom swept away all uncleanness : I filled a lamp with the most precious oil I could get in Paris, which having lighted at the going down of the sun, I placed directly on that part which is nearest to Mecca. Then I fell on my face, and prayed the eternal source of light, “ That at the moment when the moon first ascended our horizon, an intellectual splendour might shine in my breast, that I might there, as in a mirror, be-

hold the future fate of the mussulmans, and the events which as yet were hid in the dark womb of possibility."

My petition was granted. The night was in her shady course, the stars on their watch, and time, as from a limbeck, distilled the silent minutes, till the moment wherein the neighbour planet first peeped on the tops of the mountains. At that instant I saw and heard things (or at least I thought so) which I never so much as dreamed of before, neither can I remember the thousandth part.

Believe me, supreme commander of the marine, I do not boast or joy in this; for I think there can be no greater affliction than to be once made partaker of such a bliss, and then to lose it almost as soon as gained. Yet there are some footsteps of the vision remaining on my memory.

"Methinks I beheld armies of mussulmans (for I thought them to be such by their turbans) making several descents on the shores of Italy: Methought I saw them prostrate themselves on the ground; and, after a considerable space of silence, the air echoed with the sound of Allah, Allah, much like the noise of great cascades, or falls of water.

Then they seemed to disperse themselves all over the country in divers bodies. The inhabitants of Rome appeared all in a great consternation: The chief musti of that place went forthwith into the streets, followed by his cardinals and dervises, accompanied by an innumerable multitude of people. They carried their gods of gold and silver along with them; and being apparelled with garments of coarse hair, they sprinkled ashes on their foreheads, in token of their humility, and to pacify the indignation that was kindled against them.

"But Heaven was deaf to their clamorous vows, nei-

ther could all the pomp of their superstitious solemnity dazzle the eyes which are a thousand times brighter than the sun, penetrating into the darkest corners of the heart. In a word, these infidels seemed a while after to be in a great confusion and hurry, running this way and that way to hide their goods, and save themselves from the victorious strangers. In fine, I saw the crosses taken down from the minarets of the mosques in Rome, and crescents advanced in their place."

I do not relate this, as if I gave credit to visions and trances: Perhaps all this might be but a waking dream; yet such visionary entertainments happen of course to our countrymen, when they observe the foresaid ceremonies. But I tell thee, I am not asleep at this moment, and yet it appears to me a very probable undertaking, for the mussulmans to fit out a mighty fleet, which, having a sufficient army of landmen aboard, might deliver them, with little or no opposition, on some of the wealthy shores of Italy; and if it is not thought worth the labour to make new conquests, which would be difficult to maintain, yet at least our soldiers, by plundering only the rich temples and convents of the Nazarenes, might carry away inestimable treasures.

I wrote formerly to one of thy predecessors about the same matter, proposing the surprize of Loretto, as a very easy attempt, and that the booty would infinitely surpass the expence and trouble; but Mahmut's advices are never regarded till it is too late. We squander away thousands of men, and millions of money, to purchase little insignificant islands, which are defended indeed with seeming vigour by the Christians, but it is rather to amuse us than out of any real value they have for those places.

It is only a maxim of western policy thus to give diversion to the arms which are destined to subdue all na-

tions. They sport themselves, to see the flower of the eastern militia consumed in their trenches, before the impregnable fortrefs of Candia, which, if won, will not quit the cost of so tedious a siege ; whereas, in half that time, our invincible forces might have overrun all Italy.

Thou wilt not think this an impracticable enterprize, when thou shalt consider the divisions of the Italian princes, the universal security and voluptuousness of the inhabitants, and yet the oppressions and tyranny they live under, being fleeced and polled of all their substance, to maintain the grandeur of their governors, and the pride of the clergy, which renders them equally disgusted at their present slavish manner of life, and desirous of a change. It is not hard to surmise after all this, that a conquest would be easy to the victorious mussulmans, or at least such depredations as would mightily enrich them.

The most proper news that I can send thee, is of a combat lately fought at sea between the English and the Dutch. The generals on both sides are said to be brave men : He of Britain is called Blake ; the other's name is Trump. Which had the best of it, is not certainly known : men speak as they are biaffed. Yet the Dutch lost two ships in this engagement, though their fleet was far more numerous than that of the English.

If I were worthy to advise my superiors, I would propose some notable exploit by land ; for God has given the earth to the true believers, but the sea to the Christians.

Paris, 14th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1652.



VI.—*To the KIAYA BEY, or Lieutenant-General of the Janizaries.*

I HAD once a great intimacy with Cassim Hali, the brave aga, who is now no more on earth. That honest old general merited all men's love : Follow thou his example, and in time his post will fall to thy lot. Thou art already in the last advance to it ; let no airy vice make thee giddy, and give thee a fall. It is a common aphorism, That health, long life, and honour descend from above. But if they do, I tell thee, it is like the rain, which only then does good, when it penetrates the earth, and moistens to the root. An humble heart is like a kindly mould receiving the dews of Heaven with advantage and profit ; but pride is a rock, which spatters away the blessings showered down on it.

Perhaps thou wilt be affronted at my blunt way of writing ; yet assure thyself, I honour thee more than a thousand flatterers. I am not sent hither to study nice expressions, but to serve the Grand Signior with integrity. Besides, I know thou hast not been accustomed to the soft entertainment of ladies chambers, but the rough dialect of war. It is thy honour to be unacquainted with the delicacies of discourse, diet, or dressing ; things only fit to enervate a man's courage, and change his heart into that of a woman. Thou knowest how to handle the cuirass and lance, the sabre and shield, the bow and gun, and art perfectly versed in all the military terms of art. A discourse of sieges and campaigns, storming of forts, and plundering of camps, is more agreeable to thee than all Tully's oratory, or the finest strains of the Persian poets. I am therefore confident

thou wilt not take it ill, that I address to thee in a style void of artifice, yet full of real respect and love.

If I counsel thee, it is for thy good; and I am commanded to express my sentiments with freedom. Besides, I have a personal privilege to advise thee, the right of a friend, which thou wilt acknowledge, when I tell thee, that I once had the happiness to save thy life, as we travelled together in Arabia.

Thou canst not but remember that passage, and how that, in heat of youthful blood, thou hadst provoked an emir to kill thee in the sight of the whole caravan, had not I fallen at his feet, and told him thou wert a stranger to the customs of the country.

Believe me, I do not reproach thee with this, but only make use of it as an argument to convince thee, that the same motives which prompted me to interpose myself at that time between thee and certain death, induce me now to give thee warning of a precipice of which thou art in danger. Every one gives thee the character of a brave man, and nobody dislikes thee the worse for being of an air as fierce as a Tartar. All this becomes a man of the sword; and they say, thou dost every thing with a martial grace.

But I am told likewise, that thou art guilty of avarice, and that, for the lucre of presents, thou enrollest men in the list of the janizaries, who are not fit to serve in the wars; such as are housekeepers, persons entangled with wives and children, with debts and other encumbrances, that they only appear on certain days in the military habit, and then return to their domestic business, without ever regarding the discipline of the royal chambers, or thinking themselves obliged to learn the art of war; that thou in the mean time takest their pay, and many additional bribes, whilst they are only contented

with the title and privilege of a janizary, to shelter themselves from justice, and protect them in their rapine and villanies.

I tell thee, should this be known and proved against thee, it would be to thy ruin ; but I hope better things, and that these are only the surmises of thy enemies. For thou knowest, that none ought to be admitted into that ancient order, but the tributary sons of the Nazarenes, who, being in their infancy lifted in the college, know neither father nor patron, save the Grand Signior, who is the common parent and protector of the Osman empire. On his service is all their zeal and courage fixed, having no private bias, no partial inclinations, to warp them from the fidelity they owe their great master. They are devoted to indefatigable toils and hardships during their whole life.

This was the first institution of the janizaries, though, through the corruption of the times, they have much degenerated from their primitive rules. But thou, who art honoured with an high command, wilt signalise thy virtue and loyalty in reforming these abuses, and in not suffering the college of men of war to become a receptacle of rogues and drones.

Such disorders as these have promoted the intestine broils of this kingdom ; I say not that they are the original causes ; yet it is a great diminution of sovereign majesty, when a king shall find his own armies fighting against him, as they do at present here in France. How many mutinies and rebellions have been raised by the licentious janizaries at Constantinople, when, laying aside all respect and duty, they have not spared to violate the seraglio itself, but entering within those sacred walls with bands of armed men, have turned all things topsy-turvy, seized on the imperial treasure, changed the do-

meſtic officers of their ſovereign, and ſometimes chaſed him from his own palace, to the hazard, if not to the loſs of his life.

If thou wouldſt know what they are doing here in France, the men of arms are cutting one another's throats, whiſt the rabble are burning their neighbours out of their houſes.

Two days ago, the multitude aſſembled in the ſtreets, and, having beſet a certain palace in this city, they put fire to it, reſolving to kill all that ſhould attempt to make their eſcape out of the flames. A perſon of quality, coming out to pacify them, fell a victim to their unbridled rage; and had not the Duke of Beaufort (of whom I have often made mention in my letters) interpoſed his authority, they had murdered all that were within thoſe ſuſpected walls.

Some time before this, the Mareſchal Turenne took a place of ſtrength from the Prince of Conde, who in lieu of it took St. Denys, a town not far from Paris, wherein there is a temple, which the French ſay is the richeſt in Europe; but they are laughed at by the Italians, who boaſt of far richer moſques in Venice, Milan, Naples, and Rome.

The Duke of Lorrain plays faſt and looſe with the Prince of Conde. He entered the kingdom with an army, pretending to eſpouſe the prince's quarrel, but was quickly bought off by the queen, ſo that he is now gone to Flanders again; by this action leaving a free paſſage to the king's army, under Mareſchal Turenne, to range whither they pleaſe, which were before blocked up by his forces.

Four days ago, there was a bloody encounter between the troops of the prince and thoſe of Mareſchal Turenne, in one of the ſuburbs of Paris; neither could boaſt of

the victory, though the battle lasted five hours; but at length the Prince of Conde's troops retired into the city, being frightened with the main body of the king's army, which appeared on the neighbouring hills.

Illustrious janizary, fortify thy heart with all the necessary retrenchments of heroic virtue; and rather than surrender to temptations of vice on dishonourable terms, run the hazard of a storm.

Paris, 6th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1652.

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VII.—*To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.*

WE are altogether by the ears in this kingdom, killing, burning, and destroying one another, whilst you in Germany enjoy abundance of peace. The occasion of our quarrels here, is the return of Cardinal Mazarini, against whom the Duke of Orleans and Prince of Conde are inveterate enemies. The former is declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom by the parliament of Paris, who give it out, that the king is Cardinal Mazarini's prisoner. They have also bestowed the command of all the forces under the authority of the said duke on the Prince of Conde.

Their principal and only pretence is, the removal of the cardinal from the king and his council. What will be the issue, time will demonstrate.

There has been a duel lately fought between the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, two eminent friends to the Prince of Conde.

The king going to a town called Pontoise, some leagues from Paris, drew a great many counsellors and presidents of parliament thither, men who are loyal and stedfast to his cause. This encouraged the king to put



forth a declaration, commanding the parliament to meet at Pontoise ; they, on the other side, published an arrest against this declaration. Thus they continue pickering one at another.

But here is news arrived from Cologne, which surprises people very much. I know not the true ground of their astonishment, but the priests seem to be mad for joy. All that I can hear about it is, the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion in that province, which is a novelty unexpected, especially the ecclesiastic grandeur, which it seems has been laid aside above these hundred years. I tell thee only as I am informed myself ; it lies in thy power to certify me of the truth of matters.

They say also, that the famous general, John de Werdt, is dead, as likewise the Archbishop of Treves. It is added, that Frankendal is surrendered to the Elector of Heidelberg, according to the late agreement at Munster, and that there is a diet begun at Ratisbon.

I desire thee to inform me of all these things particularly, and of whatsoever else occurs in the court where thou residest.

As to matters of religion, be not over sedulous : piety is comprised in a few rules. Yet the soul of man is naturally inquisitive, and would fain be acquainted with all things. I advise thee to cast thy eyes frequently on the earth that is under thy feet ; survey the groves and fields, the mountains and valleys, rocks and rivers ; then look up to the heavens, and take a steadfast view of the stars ; consider the beauty and order of all things ; and after this tell me, if thou canst imagine, that the great and immense Creator of this wonderful fabric formed all the nations of the earth to damn them eternally, save only those of your race.— Son of Israel, I wish thee heartily adieu.

Paris, 11th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1652.

VIII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE Parisians seem to be all in a dream or trance; they know not what they say or do, or at least they care not; such is the immense joy for the return of the king to this city. The steps to this sudden change, were the retiring of Cardinal Mazarini from the court, which was seconded with a declaration of indemnity, or a general pardon for all that had passed during these troubles, save some particular reserves, sacrilege, fires, and such like. This worked strangely on the inhabitants of Paris. But the Prince of Conde not finding any satisfaction as to his own person in this amnesty, called in the Duke of Lorraine's army to his assistance. These reduced the king's forces to so great a strait and extremity, that the parliament, being sensible of the advantage, made use of it, and sent deputies to the king, beseeching him to continue in the same good resolution he had taken before this misfortune.

The monarch suffered himself to be overcome by a violence mixed with so much submission, and yielded to their requests. Immediately the hearts of the Prince of Conde's friends grew cold, and began to change their sentiments. In a word, they were resolved to desert their new master, and cast themselves at the feet of their lawful sovereign. The grandees, who had most affected Conde's interest, laid down their offices; the foreign armies of Spaniards and Lorrainers retired out of the kingdom; the citizens of Paris sent a deputation, consisting of sixty-six persons of honour, to invite the king to this city, and assure him of their future allegiance; all the officers of the militia did the like. The king being satisfied with the timely penitence of his subjects, and having commanded some preparatory alterations in places

of trust, entered this city on the twenty-first of the last moon, with all the joy and acclamation which could express the love of his people, and the regret they had laboured under during his absence.

Thou seest, illustrious minister, that though by the artifices of a faction, a king may be rendered odious to his subjects, be banished from his palace, and have the gates of his cities shut against him, as befel to this king ; yet the inconveniences they feel, in taking up arms against him, sooner or later bring them to repentance ; and they are glad to court his return, whom but a while ago they forced away by their undutifulness, to gratify the ambition of a bold young prince of the blood, who promised and ventured all things in hopes of a crown ; for it cannot be supposed, that the Prince of Conde had less aims when he first began this war, though his pretences were specious, only to remove Cardinal Mazarini, and other evil ministers from the king, and to protect the French from the machinations of Spanish and Italian counsels ; whilst it is evident, that all along he and his party have been supported by the King of Spain in their rebellion. One would wonder how the French, a sensible and witty nation, could be thus imposed upon ; but the Arabian proverb says, " There are none so blind as those that wilfully shut their eyes."

Yet whatever stupidity reigns among the Franks, methinks nothing but light and reason ought to appear in the actions of the Mussulmans. I am confounded to hear of the rebellions in Syria and Egypt : Will they never give rest to the banner of the Prophet ? Must the supreme minister be ever employed in proclaiming the nefraum ? What offence has been given to the Bassa of Damascus, or to him of Cairo ?

Sage president of the imperial city, I am abashed be-

fore the infidels, when I hear these tragical reports out of the East.

But what can be expected, when the manners of the faithful are quite estranged from those of their fathers? The mussulmans almost outdo the Franks in vice and debauchery.

When thou readest this, draw thy scymitar, and make a scabbard of the next man who mutters a word against our lawful sovereign.

Paris, 2d of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1652.

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#### IX.—To DGNET OGLOU.

I TELL thee I am neither melancholy nor merry, but in a kind of a mongrel humour between both: I am half Democritus, and the other half Heraclitus, being equally disposed to laugh and weep at the vanity of all things here below. That thought touches me sensibly, yet not enough to carry me into extremes. The misery and happiness of the whole life of mortals are themes scarce worth a passion. Whatever we endure as an evil, or possess as a good, are both so short, that, as the one need not sink us to an excess of grief, so neither does the other deserve a paroxysm of joy; a sigh or a tear are enough for the first, and a smile is too much for the last. My mind at present is an equilibrium.

What signifies the birth of the greatest monarch, or that he can boast of a long descent of kings his progenitors? He is born to labour and trouble as well as other men; and all the charming pleasures that attend a crown are scarce sufficient to recompense his cares and fatigues, his hazards and toils, and the perpetual risks he runs both in peace and war.

If from the cradle he make an early step to a throne, it is but a mock honour to be crowned with a wreath of briars, squeezed and pressed into his tender temples by the deceitful hands of his guardians and ministers, who strive only to lay the foundation of their own honour in his ruin, by improving the time of his minority, and making oppression chemical, that, during their present authority, they may extract the life and elixir of his subjects' wealth, and hoard it in their own coffers, leaving only the lees to him when he comes of age, and these generally compounded with the ill-will of his people. I wish the case prove not the same in our present sovereign, Sultan Mahomet, who, thou knowest, was lifted to his father's throne before his time, and by methods which cannot be justified: It was the musti's plot, who is the oracle of the law, and so the mussulmans acquiesced. But mark the end; such treasours seldom escape unpunished. Though Sultan Ibrahim was deposed and imprisoned (not to mention that which grates the ears of any loyal Ottoman), though his eldest son be placed on his throne to serve the ends of a faction, yet a younger than he may live to revenge the wrongs that were done to his father, and restore the empire of the faithful to its pristine grandeur. There are now above three years elapsed since the change of affairs at the seraglio. In the mean time, dost thou not observe the discontents of the people? Is there not a general coldness and neutrality to be discerned in the conversation of those who at first were most forward to approve the musti's proceedings? Men begin every where to reflect on the present revolution and its fatal consequences. The Venetian war, they say, has quite impoverished the empire. Decay of trade, want of money, and a thousand other things, are the daily complaints in Constantinople. This I am told from very



good hands, men of several nations, merchants who trade in that city, persons altogether unbiassed: They, as strangers, have been inquisitive, during their residence there, into the humours of people, to find how the musfulmans stand affected to the present state of the Ottoman affairs. I approve not the presumption of those infidels, yet make use of it to inform myself of several material passages, which I could not otherwise learn at this distance from the august Porte.

They tell me the soldiers murmur that so many thousands of men have been sacrificed in Candia and Dalmatia, whilst what they gain in the island they lose on the continent; for it seems the Venetians are still too hard for us one way or other. They grumble also for want of their due pay, and that they have not bread enough to keep them from starving. A certain Greek assured me he had heard several of the spahis swear solemnly, that it was agreed amongst them not to go into Dalmatia the next campaign: But this I took as a strain of the Grecian's natural faculty, who, thou knowest, are much given to romancing. However, I hear enough both from them and other travellers of East and West, to convince me, that some of the grandees at the imperial city are in a tottering condition.

All which serves but to confirm my first discourse, that hardly any thing on earth is worth a thought, since all things are of so short duration.

In a word, the world seems to be a garden, intermingled with roses and weeds: The first are so close encompassed with thorns, that a man cannot gather them without wounding himself; and, if there be more ease in cropping the latter, yet they are unwholesome, and stink, putting a man to as frequent purifications as the times he touches them.

Let thou and I, dear Dgnet, pass along the alleys of this garden, view her beauties and deformities with an even mind, not putting ourselves to the fatigue of gathering her flowers, or suffering ourselves to be tempted with her softer pleasures : But let every thing we see and hear in this enchanted ground serve the ends of our contemplation, being stedfastly mindful of this truth, "That all those things, which appear so gay and full of charms, are nothing but mere empty ideas and fleeting shadows of that substantial and permanent pleasure which has her residence only in paradise."

Thou mayest tell the Kaimacham, our friend, that now the King of France begins to play the monarch on the bottom of his own wit and courage, without the assistance or counsel of tutors. He has brought the parliament to an absolute compliance with his will, having purged that senate of disaffected members, and banished from the court the Duke of Orleans, who pretended a right to rule his sovereign. In the mean time, the Prince of Conde has taken Rethel and St. Menchoud, whilst Barcelona is surrendered to the Spaniards. Thus what is gained in one point is lost in another. Doubtless there is nothing stable on earth.

Paris, 8th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1652.

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#### X.—To MELEC AMET.

THY adventure, and miraculous escape over the Danube, puts me in mind of a certain French nobleman of the Prince of Conde's party, who last summer being closely pursued by some of the king's horse, and himself excellently mounted, leaped hedges and ditches to avoid captivity. At length they had chased him into a corner of

the land, from whence it was impossible for him to escape, but by swimming over a small arm of the sea. What risks will not a man run for the love of liberty? This person, like an overheated stag, perceiving his hunters close at his heels, boldly leaped on horseback into the sea, choosing rather to perish in the waters than fall into his enemies hands.

None were so hardy as to follow him through the uncertain waves; however, his horse being of matchless strength, carried him safe over to the opposite shore. As soon as he arrived at the next town, where he had many friends, he related this wonderful passage; but instead of cherishing his horse for so faithful and invaluable a service, he drew his sword, and immediately killed the beast that saved his life, saying, He did it for the sake of fame, being resolved that his horse should never perform the like service to any other mortal.

This was an ungrateful caprice, and far from the morality of Sultan Selim, the son of Bajazet, who, when his trusty horse Carabuluc had once saved his life by his extraordinary swiftness, he, in token of his thankfulness, built a stable on purpose for him, in a large inclosure of meadows, allowing a pension to a groom to wait on the meritorious beast, and give him his free delight in all things as long as he lived, commanding that he should never more be forced to labour or travel; and to complete the happiness of the beast, he culled out some of the beautifullest mares of Arabia to accompany him, charging also, that the doors of the stable should be always open for the horse to go in or out, and range when and where he pleased. This was a generosity worthy of an eastern monarch, whom, as thy letter informs me, thou hast in part imitated.

But such is some men's ambition and vain desire to be

talked of, that they care not by what barbarous methods they accomplish their aim. It was a motive of this nature which tempted Erostratus to set fire to the famous temple of Ephesus, which had been two hundred years in building, and was numbered among the seven wonders of the world.

This happened on the very night that Alexander the Great was born : And the villain being asked why he committed so destructive a sacrilege, answered, " That it was to acquire an immortal fame by so stupendous a wickedness, since he could not hope to be recorded for his virtue."

Plutarch mentions a jest that was made on this destruction of Diana's temple ; for it was common in every body's mouth, that the goddess being called that night to the labour of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, could not be present at home to save her house from burning ; for the Gentiles believed that Diana (whom they also called Lucina) was invisibly assistant at the birth of children.

However, the priests made no jest of it, but ran up and down howling and making gashes in their flesh, presaging that Fate was that day busied in signing the decree of Asia's ruin. This is certain, that that very night the man was born who was destined to subdue all Asia, and on the ruins of the Persian empire raise the monarchy of the Macedonians. However, the villain who burnt the temple had not his desire ; for it was decreed throughout all Asia, that his name should never be mentioned in history, or any public writings.

It is recorded of a certain governor of a city in Italy, that being on the top of an high tower, with only the pope, the German emperor, and an ambassador from Venice in his company, he was tempted to throw the two

former over the battlements, as they were taking a survey of the city, which he might have easily done, for they were both aged, and incapable of resisting his strength. This passage he confessed to his ghostly father ; and being asked what induced him to think of such a horrid treason, he answered, “ That it might be said he did a thing which never was done before, nor in all probability would ever be done again, since no prince, having heard such a story, would ever venture himself into the same danger without a sufficient guard of his own.” But however, he had not resolution enough to go through with his project.

I hear thou art like to acquire fame by other methods than these, being in a fair way to rise by thy virtues to some considerable employments in the empire ; for which I equally rejoice with thyself.

In the mean time, it will perhaps be obliging to tell thee some news out of these parts, which will make thy company welcome to the grantees : They love to converse with men who can furnish them with intelligence of foreign affairs.

The freshest discourse here is of the imprisonment of the Cardinal de Retz, who was arrested by the king’s order on the nineteenth of this moon. What his crime is I cannot inform thee, unless it be that he is an enemy to Cardinal Mazarini. People generally give him the character of a very honest man ; but thou knowest honesty is counted a vice in the courts of these western princes. The crafty are the only men of virtue and merit among the infidels.

Thou mayest also report for a certainty, that the Spaniards have taken Dunkirk in Flanders, and Cazai in the dukedom of Mantua. This town is said to be the key of all Italy : I cannot tell thee which is the lock it be-



longs to, nor, I believe, they themselves; but this I observe, that when the King of France sits down before any place with his army, whoever has the key, neither locks nor bolts can keep him out long; and it is ten to one if he do not find an entrance into this place again very speedily, when the Spanish king has pleased himself for a while with an imaginary possession of it.

I conclude my letter just at the hour when the old year expires, according to the account of the Christians, wishing thee a scene of new felicities.

Paris, 31st of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1652.

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XI.—*To the same.*

HAVING the opportunity of a day or two more before the post goes out of town, I make use of it to ask thee, whether there be any notice taken in your parts of a comet newly appearing above the orb of the sun? It has not been observed here till within these few nights; and the astronomers, notwithstanding the coldness of the season (which I assure thee is sharp enough), are very busy with their telescopes to pry into the figure of this meteor, and observe its motions. They take great pains, and endure all the rigour of the frost and snow, in hopes of making some new discovery.

The vulgar look on it as a great prodigy: There are a thousand opinions among them about its consequences: Every body sets up for a judicial astrologer: Nay, the learned themselves, and such as are esteemed great philosophers, cannot agree in their judgment concerning it. Some assert, that the matter of the heavens is subject to corruption and change, and that this comet is generated after that manner; whilst others hold a contrary opinion.

They are all divided, and dispute hotly in as unintelligible terms as the languages of America are to us of this continent. They amuse one another and themselves with far-fetched words; and all this while, for aught I know, the wisest among them may be as much under a mistake as those who never studied such things. All the instruments of the optics are sought out to help their sight, and yet they may be as much in the dark as the men in Plato's cave. It is an article of my faith, that we mortals know very little of those far distant beings. But these Franks are the most opinionated people in the world: No man has the modesty to allow another as much right to reason as himself. Every one sets up for a dogmatist, and requires the intellects of all others to be resigned to his, though perhaps that be only formed by the rules of his parents, the impressions of his early years, the force of education, the fashion of his country, or by some notable accident in his life; all which are equally liable to falsehood and truth. How many sects were there of the ancient philosophers, stiffly defending their several opinions? One says, the heavens are made of brass, another of iron, a third of smoke; this will have them to be solid, that fluid. There is no end of these controversies.

In the mean time, no man knows what they are made of, or what is the figure of the world, whether round or square, or beyond all dimensions, whether matter be divisible or indivisible in the last atom. Who can assure me if there be only one world, or whether there may not as well be a thousand millions? Whether the stars be opaque bodies as this earth, and inhabited or no? I tell thee again, there is no certainty of these things. Man's senses are too weak, his imagination too frail, and all his facul-

ties far too short, to comprehend the works of the Omnipotent, who alone is wise and perfect in science.

Wilt thou have my opinion of this comet? I am apt to think it is some such globe of combustible matter as our earth appears to be, and perhaps burdened with as many sinners, that either by the course of nature, or decree of destiny, the inclosed fire has broke its bounds, and spread its consuming flames over the surface, which, embodying themselves in the pyramid of smoke arising from so vast a conflagration, cause that appearance which we call the Tail of a Blazing Star; and, for aught I know, after the same manner shall our globe appear to the inhabitants of those remote worlds at our day of judgment.

I am not positive in these matters, nor will I shut up my soul from future lights; but leaving things as I find them, full of mystery and double faces, I will expect no better fate than that of Socrates, that as I have lived, so shall I die, in doubt, only hoping for plenary satisfaction in the next world.

Paris, 2d of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1653.

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XII.—*To PESTELI HALI, his Brother, Master of the Grand Signior's Customs.*

NOW thou beginnest to reap the fruit of thy travels, mayest thou live to have a full harvest. I esteem myself infinitely obliged to the illustrious bassa, our countryman, for his particular friendship in this business. It is true, thy own merits were a sufficient recommendation; but what light can a candle give that is shut up close in a dark lantern? So thick was the veil which thy own modesty

had drawn over the splendour of the most accomplished virtues.

Son of my mother, let not what I have said pass for the words of a flatterer. Thou knowest, I am as free from that vice as I am from envy. It is affection only guides my pen, when I tell thee, I heartily rejoice in my brother's prosperity, and that the Grand Signior has a faithful servant. I hope that sovereign of sovereigns will, in time, find reason to acknowledge to the noble Kerker Hassan the good office he has done him, in presenting such a slave. Let no error of thine baulk my expectation.

It will be an eternal honour to the house and tribe from which we descend, if, by acquitting thyself fairly in this post, our great master shall think thee worthy of a more sublime station. Therefore, esteem this only as a trial of thy fidelity, and how far thou art capable of serving the Sultan. Be industrious, but not affected in disclosing thy abilities. Observe a gradation; for the slowest steps to greatness are the most secure. Aim not to be rich and mighty on a sudden; swift rises are often attended with precipitate falls. If in other cases it is commendable to be niggardly of time, and squeeze every minute to an improvement in virtue, yet thou wilt find it expedient to follow other maxims in the way of growing great; and that to be liberal in years of patience, will be no unprofitable frugality in the main; since what is soonest got, is generally short in the possession; and he that monopolizes honours or wealth, is most times envied to his ruin.

Nature itself shall convince thee of this, if thou wilt but contemplate her most obvious works. Cast thy eye on the oak among the plants: What vegetable is more permanent, or of greater service to men? Yet the tree



of so vast a bulk, in whose aged hollow trunk I have seen sixteen men sitting round a table, under whose wide spread branches the house of Arom Eb'niel Eben Shero-phaim, the chief emir of Arabia, is built and stands at this day; I say, this tree, in its first original, was not so big as the thumb of thy right hand; and if naturalists speak truth, it was an hundred years a-growing to these dimensions, as many in a fixed and flourishing condition, and that it will not take up a less time in decaying to its last rottenness.

They say also, that an elephant, the biggest and strongest of all the beasts on the earth, lives two hundred years, and continues increasing in its stature the greatest part of that term. The like they relate of crocodiles and dragons.

But not to tire thee with examples of this nature, let us consider, that whatsoever is great and durable among men, whatsoever is illustrious and excellent, is slow in the production, and makes not hasty leaps to maturity. View all the monarchies that have made so much noise on earth, and thou wilt find, that in proportion to the time of their growing greatness, was the term of their duration. How swift was the rise and fall of the Persian empire? Equally precipitate was that of the Macedonians. None could ever boast of so permanent and universal a sway as the city of Rome, of which it is commonly said, "Rome was not built in a day."

To come nearer home: How lasting and perpetually victorious is the sacred empire of the mussulmans? Yet it took its first rise from very small beginnings, met with frequent repulses, and has made a slow progression to the present formidable height of sovereign power it now possesses; for, thou knowest, this is the thousandth sixtieth



and third year since the holy flight of the messenger of God.

What I have said may be applied with proportion to men's personal advances in the honours and fortunes of this world. Be content, therefore, with the seasons wherein destiny shall think fit to raise thee, and strive not to outrun thy fate.

All the news I can tell thee is, that Cardinal Mazarini returned the 13th of the last moon from his second banishment, which thou mayest report for a truth to the ministers of state.

We are all exiles here on earth. God restore us to a region more agreeable, and admit us to the caresses of our friends in paradise.

Paris, 25th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1653.

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### XIII.—To KERKER HASSAN, *Bassa*.

THE blessings of God and his prophet descend upon thee from a thousand sources. Thou art a true friend, and our whole family are obliged to thee for favours which have no number; but none more than my brother and I. Our engagements to thee are equal; since what kindness thou hast showed to him, in recommending him to the sultan's favour, and to a place of honour and profit, I take as done to myself, we being naturally sharers in each other's prosperity or adverse fortune; for such is the method of strict relations and friendships; and I have a particular reason to thank thee, because it was at my instance thou promotedst him. Yet, though he is my brother, I should not be so partial as to say these things in his behalf, did I not know him to be a man of merit; for places of trust ought not to be bestowed for favour

or affection. We are bound to sacrifice all private regards to the interest of the Grand Signior; and not act like the French, who get offices of the greatest importance many times by being of a faction or party opposite to their king.

Since the return of Cardinal Mazarini to this court, which was in the foregoing moon, the king has reformed many abuses of this kind. He begins to feel his own strength and authority every day more and more.

In the moon of December died Cardinal Richlieu's brother, who was bishop of Lyons, and grand almoner of France. The king has bestowed these honours on Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who took sanctuary in this court, from the persecutions of the present Roman pontiff, almost ten years ago. He has always espoused the King of France's interests in Rome; and the grateful monarch received him with much affection, and, as an additional honour, has made him a knight of the Holy Spirit. This is the chiefest order of knighthood in France.

It is freshly reported here, that the Duke of Newburgh, a great prince in Germany, is dead. They talk also of certain prodigies that have been lately seen in England, Ireland, and other parts of Europe, as raining of warm blood, tin, and copper; and it is affirmed for certain, that three suns were lately seen at Dublin, the chief city of Ireland.

There has been a sea combat between the English and Hollanders on the coast of Italy, wherein they say the Dutch had the victory; having sunk two of their enemies ships, and taken one, without any considerable loss on their own side.

Here is no other news stirring at present, worth the knowledge of a mussulman grandee. The eyes of all the

western Nazarenes are fixed on that refuge of the world where thou residest, and on the actions of our invincible visier in Candia.

They discourse of some overtures of peace which that great general has made to the Venetians, if they will forthwith surrender the city of Candia to the victorious Osmans. If this be true, one would think so great clemency must needs tempt the proud infidels to submission and compliance. But, if destiny has otherwise decreed, I wish they may feel the force of our arms, which appear more keen than even the scythe of time, that devourer of all things.

Paris, 27th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1653.

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XIV.—*To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.*

THY last letter speaks thee at once willing to be enlightened, yet tenacious of thy old prepossessions. I wonder not at the difficulty thou findest, in shaking off the precepts of thy rabbis, those religious triflers. The influence of education is forcible as that of our birth; and the habits that are rooted in us in our tender years, are harder to be displanted than the inherent affections of our blood: This is signified by the Arabian proverb, which says, “The tutors of youth have an ascendant over the stars of their nativity.”

I know it has been esteemed the peculiar glory of thy nation, that you have been rigid observers of the traditions of your fathers; from which rather than deviate a tittle, there have not been wanting such as freely exposed themselves, and have bravely endured racks, scourgings, burnings, and all sorts of torments, even the most exquisitely cruel deaths, that the malice of tyrants could

invent. But do not I know also, that in some of the most weighty points of your law, your zeal has exceeded your prudence? I speak not of the private bigotry of one man, or a few, but of the representative body of your whole nation. How foolishly superstitious were your armies in the days of Mattathias, when, being assaulted by their enemies on the sabbath-day, they refused to draw a sword in their own defence, and so were all cut off by the army of Antiochus? This is no invidious remark of your adversaries in religion, but the observation of Josephus, a man of the same faith, and sprung from the stock of Israel as well as thyself.

Now, tell me thy opinion, did your fathers do well in thus sacrificing themselves and the whole interest of Israel to a mistaken punctilio of that obedience they owed the law, or no? If thou allowest the former, then Mattathias did wickedly in making a decree, that from thenceforth it should be lawful on the sabbath-day to resist their enemies; and all the Jews were guilty of many notorious breaches of the law, in obeying this decree, and fighting on the sabbath-day. But if thou sayest they did ill in not fighting, though at a prohibited time, and prohibited under the severest curses, then it follows, that there is no point of your law which may not, nay, which ought not to be dispensed with, and give way to the interests of state, and the good of the commonwealth: so that, at this rate, the religion for which you are all so zealous, will appear to be but a form of government divinely contrived for human regards. I do not call in question the miraculous delivery of your law on Mount Sinai. Suffer me to plead, without suspicion of partiality: I do not go about to invalidate the testimony of Moses and the prophets. Doubtless, the Most High came down through the heavens, attended with myriads

of angels, and thirty-two thousand chariots of fire ; and, when he stood on the top of the mountain, the rear of his train had not passed the silver gates of the moon : The sun appeared in his circuit as one astonished ; he blushed, and fled away from the eternal brightness, not able to endure the lustre of a glory so far surpassing his own : The stars were dazzled at the immortal splendour, and mistook their courses ; they ran one against another in their affrighted careers ; and as a lasting memorial of that glorious descent, the angels left the bright impression of their footsteps in the path : That heavenly road is to this day distinguished from all the rest of the sky by its whiteness, which makes the astronomers call it *THE MILKY WAY*.

The nations of the earth were amazed at the tremendous vision and noise ; for the mountain was all on fire, whose flames reached up to the clouds, and its smoke to the mid-heaven. The globe trembled and quaked at the dreadful thunderings, and the lightnings penetrated the abyss of hell : The infernal spirits were startled at the uncouth flashes, and asked one another, If the day of judgment were come ? The waters hid themselves in their fountains, and the ocean uttered a deep murmur. Every thing in nature was surprised with wonder and dread ; and Moses himself, when he came down from the mountain, was all transformed into light.

Thou seest, Nathan, I am no infidel, but believe as thou dost, that the law of Moses was brought down from Heaven. But does it therefore follow, that this law is universal and eternal ? Can none be saved but the sons of Israel, and such as are proselyted to their religion ? Doubtless this is an error, as thou thyself wilt acknowledge, when thou hast well examined the matter. Remove thy post a little, if it be only in imagination ; rise



from the feet of thy doctors, who have instilled into thee prejudices against all the sons of Adam, except those of your own race. Stand aloof for a while, and look round about thee to the four winds; but fix thine eyes on the East, for from thence Wisdom takes her origin. Did not the same God who created the Jews, also create all the nations of the earth? And canst thou be so blind and obdurate as to think that Sovereignty Merciful made so many millions of souls on purpose to damn them? Or that it shall be imputed to them for sin, that they were not born of the seed of Jacob? Was it in their power to choose the father that should beget them, or the mother that should conceive them? How absurd are the consequences of this narrow opinion? It is an unpardonable pride and malice, thus to condemn and judge those that are compounded of the same ingredients as yourselves.

Doubtless God has sent prophets into all nations, to guide them into the right way, and not into the way of infidels. Those who believe the prophets, and obey their precepts, shall be saved; for they preach the unity of the divine essence, the resurrection of the dead, the day of judgment, the joys of paradise, and the torments of the damned; they teach the necessity of justice, purity, and good works; exhorting all to practise the golden rule, without entangling their minds in endless niceties, which are but the superfetation of piety, the excrementitious burdens of a religious life. Such are most of the troublesome and ridiculous ceremonies observed by the zealots of your law, at which I have known the wiser sort of Jews to laugh. These little superstitions, like unprofitable suckers, exhaust the vitals of religion, and leave it only a sapless trunk, from which no fruit can be expected. Were they commanded in the law of Moses, something might be pleaded in their defence; but, as

they are only the dreams of your rabbis, a wise man would beware how he put on a needless yoke, the stratagem of your crafty guides to keep you in subjection, and a servile awe of their authority, and a religious timoroufness of you know not what.

Thy letter replies to this by anticipation ; for fupposing that I fhould argue thus, and charge you with adding traditions of your own to the pofitive injunctions of the law, thou telleft me, that thofe are greatly miftaken who think that all which was delivered to Mofes in the Mount was written in the two tables, or comprifed even in the Pentateuch, as if the prophet fpent thofe forty days and nights only in keeping of geefe ; for it is evident, fayeft thou, that if God had nothing elfe to give him but the written law, he might have difpatched him in an hour, or a day at moft. Therefore, thou addeft, that by day he gave to him the written law, and by night the myfterious explanation of it, called the oral law ; which explanation Mofes taught by word of mouth to Joshua, his fucceffor, Joshua to the feventy-two feniors, and that they tranfmitted this oral traditionary comment down to their pofterity, even to the laft of the prophets, from whom the great Sanhedrim received it ; after this, every one delivered it to his fon as he had received it from his anceftors, and fo it continues to this day to be the rule of your lives, in thofe cafes where the written law is filent. I tell thee, Nathan, there appears a great fhew of reafon in what thou fayeft ; and indeed it cannot be fupposed that Mofes fpent all that time only in receiving the written law ; but on the other fide, I cannot believe that the Eternal Mind was bufied fo many days in prefcribing thofe ridiculous rules and ceremonies which are found in the Talmud, and the writings of your rabbis.

If thou canst convince me of that, I will cease to persuade thee to a change.

I have a great deal more to say, but the hour of the post calls on me to conclude my letter. In my next I will fully answer all thy arguments. In the mean time, let not custom, and the dictates of the synagogue, supplant thy reason, but remember thou art a man.

Paris, 27th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1653.

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XV.—*To the Sublimely Wise, the Signior of Excellent Dignity, ABUL RECOWAWN', Grand Almoner to the Sultan.*

THOU art placed on a high seat, eminent among the faithful, and the eyes of the distressed are fixed on thee. Thou art the patron of all the miserable. To thee, as to a sanctuary, flies the man whose misfortunes have bereaved him of all other hope, whose drooping spirits can find no comfort from the rest of mortals. His last and only refuge is to thee, who art the faithful steward of the Grand Signior's liberalities. Let not too much prudence supersede thy charity. The wicked and the innocent have equal access to thee; and it ought to be so, for no man at first can distinguish between the one and the other by their outward aspect. Yet a little examination and converse will show the difference.

There are those who get large possessions under the mask of poverty; there are impudent beggars, who make a trade of imposing on human compassion, and sport themselves in this humble method of cheating people of their money; whilst, imagining they bestow it on persons really indigent, it is thrown away on counterfeits, villains, and infidels.

On the other side, I have seen true objects of pity,

men reduced to the last extremities, who would rather perish than expose their condition to any, save the great and noble. They esteem such as be wise men, generous, and considerate of the accidents which commonly befall mortals; they think, to these they may freely unbosom themselves, tell their wants, and claim relief, without the hazard of a reproach, which wounds more deeply than a short denial.

Thou mayest know them by the modesty which appears in their faces (says our holy prophet), and that they are soon repulsed. To such as these give plentiful alms, and do not repine; for it is as a profitable merchandise sent to remote countries, which, though ventured on the uncertain waters, yet in time, by the special blessing of Heaven, shall return with seven-fold interest.

Nay, give to all that ask; for it is better to misplace our charity on nine unworthy persons, than to deny an alms to one that is really in need. Besides, it is not for the honour of a sovereign monarch, that any person in distress should depart from his court sad or discontented for want of relief.

I have in some of my letters glanced at the vices of these western Nazarenes, and have not been altogether silent as to their virtues, among which their charity is very conspicuous.

The French relate a pretty passage of a certain cardinal, a very good man, and one that, by the multitude of his generous actions, gave occasion for the world to call him, The patron of the poor.

This ecclesiastic prince had a constant custom, once or twice a-week, to give public audience to all indigent people in the hall of his palace, and to relieve every one

according to their various necessities, or the motions of his own bounty.

One day a poor widow, encouraged with the fame of his generosity, came into the hall of this cardinal, with her only daughter, a beautiful maid about fifteen years of age. When her turn came to be heard, among the crowd of petitioners, the cardinal, discerning the marks of an extraordinary modesty in her face and carriage, as also in her daughter, he encouraged her to tell her wants freely. She, blushing, and not without tears, thus addressed herself to him: "My Lord, I owe for the rent of my house five crowns, and such is my misfortune, that I have no other means to pay it, save what would break my heart, since my landlord threatens to force me to it, that is, to prostitute this my only daughter, whom I have hitherto with great care educated in virtue, and an abhorrence of that odious crime. What I beg of your eminence is, that you would please to interpose your sacred authority, and protect us from the violence of this cruel man, till by our honest industry we can procure the money for him."

The cardinal, moved with admiration of the woman's virtue and innocent modesty, bid her be of good courage. Then he immediately wrote a billet, and giving it into the widow's hands, "Go (said he) to my steward with this paper, and he shall deliver thee five crowns to pay thy rent."

The poor woman overjoyed, and returning the cardinal a thousand thanks, went directly to his steward, and gave him the note, which when he had read, he told out fifty crowns. She, astonished at the meaning of it, and fearing this was only the steward's trick to try her honesty, refused to take above five, saying, She asked the



cardinal for no more, and she was sure it was some mistake.

On the other side, the steward insisted on his master's order, not daring to call it in question: But all the arguments he could use were insufficient to prevail on her to take any more than five crowns; wherefore, to end the controversy, he offered to go back with her to the cardinal, and refer it to him. When they came before the munificent prince, and he was fully informed of the business, "It is true, (said he) I mistook in writing fifty crowns; give me the paper, and I will rectify it." Thereupon he wrote again, saying thus to the woman, "So much candour and virtue deserves a recompence: Here I have ordered you five hundred crowns; what you can spare of it, lay up as a dowry to give with your daughter in marriage."

If I mistake not, this cardinal was called Farnese; but whatever his name was, this was an action truly heroic, and which has but few parallels.

It will be much for the glory and interest of the shining Porte, if thou sometimes, by an extraordinary largess, raisest the fortune of deserving men, and puttest them in a capacity to serve the Grand Signior; at least, such bounty will oblige them not to disserve him.

Among the rest, permit me to recommend the case of Ebnol Barwana Kaemas, thy countryman: He was once possessor of a fair Timariot, but was turned out by Sultan Ibrahim, to gratify a creature of Shechir Para. Thou knowest the life of that infamous woman. I say no more.

Paris, 2d of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1653.

XVI.—*To the CAPTAIN BASSA.*

THOU that art a man of war, delightest, no doubt, to hear of combats and battles ; and I tell thee, that since the beginning of the world, there have never been known such dreadful sea-fights, as during the present war between the English and Dutch. It seems there is an emulation sprung up in the latter ; they grudge the inhabitants of Britain the character which has been given them from all antiquity, of being the most victorious on that element of any nation on the earth.

It is possible there may be some more particular grounds for their present quarrel, to which I am a stranger ; but assuredly they have pursued their animosities very eagerly on both sides ; and, let the occasion be what it will, the Dutch are still losers.

I sent thee an account of a combat between their fleets last year, since which they have had many other engagements ; and it is said here, that, during this war, the English have taken from the Dutch near two thousand merchant vessels, and sunk and burnt many of their ships of war, slain some of their chief commanders, spoiled their trade, and reduced them almost to as great straits as when they first courted the protection of the English against their sovereign the King of Spain, from whom they had then newly revolted.

But the most terrible conflict was on the second of this moon, wherein the Dutch had seven-and-twenty of their greatest ships either sunk or burnt, two thousand of their seamen and soldiers killed, and a thousand taken prisoners, with many captains. That great general, Trump, whom I mentioned in my last, was slain in this fight, after he had performed prodigies of valour.

The French say, that, during the heat of this engage-

ment, Trump, being excessive thirsty, called for a bowl of wine, which his servant had no sooner delivered to him, but a cannon bullet took his hand off, just as he was retiring from his master. The brave general, touched with a noble compassion, spilt the wine on the deck, saying, "It is not fit that I should quench my thirst with the blood of a faithful slave:" And as soon as he had spoke these words, another bullet took from him the power of ever drinking again.

If such an accident should happen to thee, when thou fightest against the infidels, know, for certain, that thou shalt be immediately transported to the green and shady banks of the rivers of wine in paradise, where thou mayest drink thy fill in eternal security; for he that dies fighting for the faith is a martyr.

Paris, 12th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1653.

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XVII.—*To SALE TIRCHENI EMIN, Superintendant of the Royal Arsenal at Constantinople.*

I REMEMBER I promised in my last to give thee a farther account of Pachicour, the famous pirate of the Black Sea: It were easy to perform it, but a temptation diverts my pen another way.

I remember, when thou wert chiaus, I have heard thee speak of the kingdom of Tunis, whither thou wast sent by Sultan Amurat, to compose the differences that happened between the dey and the divan of that city: At the same time, thou madest mention of a certain admirable engine, contrived to draw up ships, or any thing else, from the bottom of the sea; and that the divan of Tunis gave to the artist who framed it an hundred thousand piasters, as a reward of his ingenuity.

I have read, in a certain French author, of such another device at Venice, made on purpose to draw up the famous Carrack, which they called The Castle of the Sea. This galleon was built of a monstrous bulk, more for state than service, and was overturned by her own unwieldiness, as she lay at anchor, and sunk to the bottom; from whence neither that forementioned engine, nor all the art of man could raise her: Yet the skill of the engineer was highly commended, and the senate honoured him with the title of Clarissimo, and settled a noble pension on him during life.

It is questioned whether the States of Holland will be so liberal to a certain French engineer, who has made a ship at Rotterdam, which, they say, will outdo all the miracles of Noah's ark.

This ship is at present all the talk at Paris. Our merchants receive letters full of wonders from the Low Countries concerning this whirligig of a vessel, which is to move by clock-work, without sails, oars, rudder, or any common marine tackle, yet shall cut her way through the sea, with a swifter progress than the moon glides along the sky, or a bullet out of a cannon. This is the discourse of those who love to advance all that they hear to the height of a miracle or romance: Yet, it is certain, the artist has promised it shall equal the motion of some birds, and run twelve leagues an hour. Neither winds nor tides shall forward or hinder its course, which, depending on an internal principle of perpetual motion, is to be directed only at the pleasure of him who manages the springs and wheels; so that the master of this vessel shall be able, with a single touch of his hand, to turn it to any point of the compass, in the most boisterous weather that blows.

This engineer farther engages, that his vessel shall make

a voyage to the East Indies in the revolution of a moon, and to some regions of America in a fourth part of that time. If he be as good at performance as he is at promising, he will sail round the globe at this rate in three moons.

In farther commendation of this wonderful machine, it is said, that, by a new-invented art, it shall secretly, under water, disable any ship, provided she be within cannon-shot, and this with so sudden a force, that in the space of six hours it will successively sink a fleet of an hundred ships of war.

Moreover, this artist, to appear not less subtle against the efforts of Heaven, than in surpassing all the inventions on earth, promises, that his miraculous vessel shall, at the distance of a league, cut asunder any spouts or cataracts of waters, which usually threaten mariners in the Mediterranean and other seas.

It is possible thou art very well acquainted with the nature of these spouts, and the danger of ships that sail near them; yet give me leave to inform thee what I have heard from a certain corsair, who has often met with them in the Levant.

This pirate tells me, that a spout is a kind of aqueduct between the clouds and the sea, by which those pendulous cisterns above are replenished with water from the ocean, drawing it up as through a pipe, which seems to be let down for that end, at certain seasons, and in some particular places, where the water boils up first above the surface of the briny plain, as a signal to those thirsty bladders to make a descent there, and suck their fill.

If this be true, who knows but that all the rain, to which the earth is indebted for its fertility, comes thus originally from the sea? for it may be made fresh, either in its first ascent through the roscid air, or after its re-



ception into the clouds, by some hidden energy of that element, or the natural force of the middle region; or at least by some unknown virtue, perhaps not inferior to that by which the waters of a bitter lake in the desert became sweet at the intercession of our holy prophet, when the whole army of the primitive mussulmans was like to have perished of thirst.

And then how will the western philosophers dispose of all the vapours which they say are exhaled from this globe, and afterwards condensed into clouds? I tell thee that is but a loose notion of such retentive bodies as the clouds seem to be: And it would tempt one to ask, what the vessels are made of which hold those condensed exhalations, so that they do not fall at once upon our heads and overwhelm us, but only distil in small successive showers, drop by drop, to refresh the barren parts of the earth, and serve the necessities of men: And why the rains fall in the Indics, and other regions of the East, whole moons together without intermission, the rest of the year being dry; whereas, in other countries, the periods of the weather's alteration are uncertain, and in some parts it seldom or never rains at all.

Doubtless, the works of the Omnipotent are inscrutable; and though it may be an argument of a great wit, to give ingenious reasons for many wonderful appearances in nature, yet it is an evidence of small piety or judgment, to be positive in any thing but the acknowledgment of our own ignorance.

Now I have made as wide an excursion from my first discourse, as the Maulla did, who began an oration in praise of Noah's ark, and ended with telling a tale of an Armenian wheel-barrow. But I will not forget that I was speaking of the promise which the Rotterdam engineer has made of his machine; that it should effectually

break all the force of spouts, which would render him very serviceable to merchants, as a convoy to defend them from those terrible bugbears to sailors ; for the corsair tells me, that these spouts very often occasion shipwrecks, either by entangling the masts of a ship, and so overturning it, or, by breaking in the encounter, overwhelm it with water, and so sink it.

He says likewise, that the Christian pirates are accustomed to use a certain charm against these spouts : They have a knife, whose haft is made of the bone of a man's right arm, and every vessel is bound to provide one or two of these knives when they loose from the shore. They buy them of certain persons who have the character of magicians ; and when they see a spout at some distance from them at sea, the master of the vessel, or any body else, takes this enchanted knife in his right hand, and holding the book of their gospel in his left, reads some part of it ; and when he comes to a certain versicle which mentions the incarnation of their Messiah, he makes a motion with his knife towards the spout, as if he would cut it in two ; whereupon immediately the spout breaks in the middle, and all the inclosed water falls into the sea.

But I tell thee, he who gives credit to the stories of charms, or the projects of men pretending to excel all the rest of their race, has more faith than is requisite to him who reads *Æsop's Fables*, since, in perusing that ingenious figment, we are only desired to believe the moral.

It is thought by some, that this engineer will, by the natural clock-work of his heels, be much more nimble than his vessel, in flying the disgrace which will attend him, if his fantastic project prove unsuccessful. In my next thou shalt hear of *Pachicour*.

Paris, 12th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1653.

XVIII.—*To MURAT, Baffa.*

THE English at present make the greatest figure and noise of all the nations in the West. Spain, Portugal, and even France itself, courts the friendship of that island, since the inhabitants have formed themselves into a commonwealth. It appears as if the English were but newly awakened to a sense of their own strength, and, by thus rousing themselves, had alarmed all their neighbours.

However it be, this king has sent an ambassador to the English court to break the negotiation of the Spaniards there, and to establish a peace between England and France, if possible.

One cannot tell what to make of the maxims of these infidels ; for, at the same time, the banished heir of the English crown takes his sanctuary in this court, where he is caressed, and made to believe great things they will do toward his restoration. But interest supercedes all arguments of affection and consanguinity : They are more solicitous here for the success of their embassy, than for the right of the poor exiled prince. He is called the King of Scotland, having been solemnly crowned in that kingdom since the death of his father ; and, entering into England with an army of Scots, was routed ; and, having narrowly escaped the trains that were laid for his liberty and life, at length landed in this kingdom, where he has been entertained with much seeming affection. But the dread they are under of the victorious new English commonwealth, makes them begin to talk of his departure from hence.

The Prince of Conde has taken Rocroy, which was the first place where he signalized his arms in the infant reign of this king, about ten years ago, which the fu-

perstitious interpret as an omen of ill luck to the king. This sort of people are led by maxims void of reason, and so there is no regard to be given to their observations; yet some of the wiser sort think this will prove a long war.

That which amuses people most, is the small concern the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess of Longueville shew for their brother's cause; for, while the king was on his march against the Prince of Conde, they came and submitted themselves to him, and were received to favour. Those who are apt to suspect an intrigue in every thing, say, that this reconciliation is only feigned on their part, it being a means to serve their persecuted brother with greater security and success; others are of opinion, that it is real, especially on the Prince of Conti's part, since he and his brother had never any good understanding.

There has been a battle lately fought between the French and Spanish forces in Italy, wherein the Spaniards lost twelve hundred men, and the French above half that number of their best soldiers; so that the King of France may say, with a famous general, Victories attended with so little advantage, will ruin, rather than enlarge an empire.

Bassa, in the midst of thy grandeur, I wish thee health, which sweetens the worst events. As for me, I am like one hovering between two worlds.

Paris, 15th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1653.

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#### XIX.—*To AFIS, Bassa.*

THE gods of the Nazarenes, one would think, were studying how to perplex their adorers. These western

parts abound with prodigies and surprising events : More especially the low countries feel the strokes of a hand, which, by making them smart, seems to put them in mind, they are too high in their own conceit.

For several weeks we have been alarmed from thence with the tragical stories of shipwrecks, inundations, tempests of thunder and lightning, not usual at this time of the year ; monstrous spectres seen rising out of the seas, lakes, and rivers ; armies in the air ; with comets, and other wonderful apparitions.

The states of the United Provinces have lost by wreck sixteen ships of war, and thirty-seven merchant vessels. It looks as if *Æolus* and *Neptune*, the chief gods of the *Hollanders*, had entered into a league to punish them for struggling against their fate, whilst they maintain a fleet to brave and plunder the *English*, under whose shadow they first rose to the power they so ungratefully now possess.

For besides these losses at sea, the winds and waves have conspired to break down their very banks, the only guard they have against that encroaching element. All the low countries are overwhelmed with water ; inasmuch as, five miles within land from *Ostend*, there has been found a whale newly cast up, seven times as long as a man.

This the infidels look on as a great prodigy, and the forerunner of some strange revolution, though it is but a natural event, and frequently happens in those seas where whales are more plentiful. The naturalists say, that this king of the scaly nations never makes his progress through the seas without his guide, which is a certain small fish, that always swims before him, and gives him warning of flats and shallows, upon which he often strikes, and sometimes on the main shores, if his little guide chance to be



devoured by any other fish, or come to other mishap; and this may be the reason why so many whales are found on the sands when the tide ebbs. They say also, that when this little fish is inclined to rest, it retires into the whale's belly, reposing itself there for some time, during which the whale rests also, not daring to venture forward, till his guide comes forth, and leads the way. If this be true, it seems as if there were a league or friendship contracted between these two; they mutually performing all the necessary offices of love and gratitude; and how this can be done without some species of reason, I cannot comprehend.

Let them at the Porte call me Minefish, or what they please, I cannot forbear doing this justice to the fish of the sea, as well as to the animals on earth, to acknowledge, that either they are endowed with a kind of reason, or that faculty which we call so in men is no other than sense. If the brutes perform many things without any deliberation or counsel, so do most men; and no man can demonstrate, that even those dumb beings do not advise and project, before they attempt any thing of moment towards their own preservation, or the service of others; and if they seem to do many things rashly, it may be attributed to the quickness and vivacity of their sense, which needs not the slow and phlegmatic methods of human counsel.

Suffer these digressions, courteous bassia; and, since I have led thee so far out of the road, take but another step, and I will show thee a great monarch, who commands millions of men, carried away captive by a silly beast.

The King of France, the other day, as he was a-hunting, discharged a fowling-piece at a partridge on the wing: The bird dropped, and the monarch, eager to

take up his game, gave the reins to his horse, who ran away with him over a great plain, for the space of half a league ; and had not the king fallen off, within six paces of a great chasm or hole in the earth, he would have been carried, for aught I know, to keep company with Horatius Curtius, the venturous Roman, of whose exploits thou hast heard ; for the furious steed, not being aware of the danger before him, as soon as he had cast the king, galloped full speed into the gaping precipice, and was never more heard of.

This the priests cry up for a miraculous escape, and presage, that the king is reserved by providence for great things.

The King of Portugal has an ambassador here, who in his master's name proposes a match between this king and the infanta of Portugal, proffering four millions of crowns as her dowry : But the court entertains this motion coldly, the cardinal being averse, for what reason is not known ; for the infanta has an illustrious character, and known to be a princess of incomparable virtue.

This minister is managing a match of nearer concern to himself, designing to marry one of his nieces to the Prince of Conti, brother to the Prince of Conde ; and it is said, this prince receives the cardinal's proposals with less scorn, than did the Count of Soissons those of Cardinal Richlieu on the like occasion.

Here is a rumour, as if the Prince of Conde would be condemn'd by a process of parliament, and that he will be put to death in effigy.

This indignity is common among the infidels, who esteem whatsoever honour or disgrace is shown to images, as done to the persons whom they represent. They have no other excuse for their worship of things made by the

hands of men like themselves, but that it is purely relative, and centres in the prototype.

In the mean time, the Prince of Conde's friends and well-wishers smile at his imaginary death, knowing, that, if no effectual stroke of fate carry him out of the world, he will be at the head of a potent army in the spring, to put many to death in reality, and by the edge of the sword, who fight for his enemies.

A while ago, a man was imprisoned here by his own folly, having voluntarily declared, that he was hired by this prince to assassinate Cardinal Mazarini.

I have formerly spoken of the Count d'Harcourt, and the disgrace he was in at this court, for not continuing the siege of Londa, a strong hold of the Spaniards in Catalonia. This general is a brave man, and has done eminent services to the crown of France. It is no wonder, therefore, that he laid to heart the coldness and contempt with which he was received at his return from that unfortunate campaign. Great souls are to be careful with more than ordinary affection, in their adverse fortunes; and faithful servants ought not to be reproached with every false step, or ill success in their affairs. The count, resenting ill the king's carriage towards him, removed himself from the court, and then out of the kingdom, designing, as is supposed, to serve the Emperor of Germany.

Last week his two sons, that were detained as hostages in this city, made their escape; the Duke of Lorraine having promised to give the eldest his daughter in marriage.

That duke roves up and down like a freebooter, with an army of banditti at his heels.

Renowned Asis, I make an humble and affectionate obeisance; wishing thee as many years of life, as thou canst pass without languishing for death.

Paris, 17th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1653

XX. -- *To DGEBE NAFIR, Bassa.*

THOU succeedest a righteous minister, Chiurgi Muhammet : I wish thee a surplussage of happiness, which thou wilt not fail to possess, if thou inheritest the virtues of that bassa, as well as his office. May his soul now taste the reward of his just life ; and I doubt not but he has made an happy experience of my wishes. He sits down in quiet under the trees of Eden, his head encompassed with a garland of flowers, which never fade, vested with the immarcescible crimson, and purple of paradise : He reposes on his bed of delights, whilst beautiful pages serve him in vessels of gold, set round with sapphires and emeralds : He drinks the delectable wine which never inebriates, and eats of the fruits, every morsel of which prolongs his life for a thousand ages : He hears nothing but the voices of such as are full of benediction and joy : The virgins of paradise salute him with a grace which cannot be expressed : They chant to the new-come guest songs of immortal love ; to the stranger from earth, they tell their passion in strains which ravish his heart : He is dissolved in a thousand ecstasies. This is the reward of a pious Mussulman, a wise minister, a just judge of the faithful. Follow his example, and thou shalt be translated into his company ; for he is in a goodly place, near the spring-head of perfect bliss.

Thou wilt expect some news from me as a testimony of my respect ; and I cannot pretend there is none stirring, at a juncture when all this part of the world is so full of action, or at least of counsels.

Here has been great rejoicings lately for the taking of St. Menchoud, a strong town in the hands of the Prince of Conde. All the officers of the French King's army endeavoured to dissuade him from the siege of this place ;

but Cardinal Mazarini over-ruled their arguments, and, having reproved their groundless fears, caused it to be invested and attacked the 22d of the 10th moon. Some say he had a party there, yet it held out till the 27th of the last moon, at which time it was surrendered upon articles to the king, who was there in person, with his brother the young Duke of Anjou, the queen, the cardinal, and the whole court : They returned to this city the 9th of this present moon.

• They were received with great acclamations and seeming joy, by those who would have triumphed more heartily, had they been defeated, or forced to raise the siege ; for the citizens of Paris wish well to the Prince of Conde's arms, not so much out of love to him, as in hatred of his enemy, the cardinal minister ; and they are sensible, that this successful siege will redound wholly to the cardinal's honour, by whose sole orders the place was invested.

It is discoursed, as if this minister has some new design on foot, to conquer the kingdom of Naples : This is certain, a mighty fleet is fitting out to sea ; whither bound, no man knows but those of the cabinet, among whom the cardinal is chief.

In the mean while, the common people listen after certain prodigies that have been seen in the air : They say, a flaming sword appeared lately to rise in the north, and take its course south-eastward ; from whence people make various prognostics, as their passions or interests inspire them. Some are of opinion, it presages the conquest of Naples by this king's arms ; others apply it to the new commonwealth of England, and to the victorious sword of Oliver, who, from general of the English army, is now, in this very moon, exalted to the height of sovereign power, governing the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under the title of their Protector.



Here are divers of his subjects in this city, and other English, Scots, and Irish, who embrace the interest of Charles, the son of their late murdered king, who has been since crowned King of the Scots. They give a different character of Oliver; yet all agree that he is a wise statesman and a great general.

The Scots King's party speak contemptibly of Oliver's birth and education; yet thou knowest this hinders not but he may be a man of courage and virtue. They relate many odd passages of his youth, which seem to me so many evidences of an extraordinary genius, and that he is a person of a deep reach.

He tampered with several religious factions in England, counterfeiting an exquisite piety, whereby he first raised himself a name among the zealots of that nation, who looked upon him there as a very holy person, and one marked out by destiny for great undertakings.

He soon got a considerable command in the army of the revolvers, where he signalized himself by many brave actions, which spoke him a man of an invincible courage, and admirable conduct; so that at length none was thought more fit than he to be general. In fine, he acquitted himself so gallantly in that high office, and has so wrought himself into the affections of the people, that they now look upon him as a prophet or saviour; and the divan, or parliament of that nation, have conferred on him the sovereign authority.

Those of the English, which are affected to his interest, speak great things in his praise; they call him another Moses or Joshua; they prefer him to Hannibal, Scipio, and even to the great Alexander. It is difficult for them to speak of him without hyperboles. It is said the King of France will court his friendship. Indeed all the neighbouring countries stand in awe of this suc-

cessful hero ; and the Hollanders, who are the only people that durst engage in a war with the English commonwealth, now seek for peace, since he is invested with the supreme authority.

In the mean time, the poor exiled King of the Scots takes sanctuary in this court, with his mother the late Queen of England, and his brother, whom they call the Duke of York. The French King allows them all very considerable pensions ; and the latter has some command in the army in Flanders. There is another brother also, but little talked of as yet, being the youngest of the three.

They are generously entertained here, it being the peculiar honour of this court to be an hospitable refuge to princes in distress : Yet observing men say, the king will in time grow weary of his royal guests, it being very chargeable to maintain them and their burdensome retinue. Besides, he will have some reason of state to discard them, if he enters into a league with Oliver, the new English sovereign, who is courted on all hands.

Eliachim the Jew of whom thou wilt hear in the divan) is just come into my chamber, and brings me word, that there is an express newly arrived, who informs the queen of a defeat given to the Spaniards near a city called Rozes, which they had besieged, in Catalonia. The French were going to the relief of this place, and the Spaniards set upon them in their march, but were beaten into their trenches, from whence they fled by night, leaving three hundred Spaniards on the spot, almost two thousand prisoners, and all their cannon and baggage.

This has put the court into a jolly humour : Nothing but revelling and dancing employs their time, the young king taking great delight in balls, masques, and such recreations, having left off hunting, ever since his horse

ran away with him in the tenth moon of this year, after he had shot a partridge, whereof I have spoken already in one of my letters.

The great God preserve thee from precipices, poison, the glances of a witch, and from being canonized a martyr in a string; and for other deaths, thou hast virtues enough to encounter them bravely.

Paris, 30th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1653.

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## B O O K IV.

LETTER I.—*To BEDREDIN, Superior of the Convent of Dervises, at Cogni in Natolia.*

WHEN I first opened thy venerable letter, my heart on a sudden became fresh as a garden of roses, or a field of cinnamon and myrrh, whose odours are exhaled by the west wind; in my breast there sprung up a fountain of joy, serene as crystal, and refreshing as the waters of Euphrates.

I contemplate thee as a cedar among the trees of the forest, or as the durable oak of the desert. May Heaven prolong thy life till the sound of the trumpet.

The commands with which thou hast honoured me came in an acceptable hour; I have received them with a complacency which I cannot express; my eyes were so fixed on the lines of great purity, that I could not for a long time take them off. Thou hast hit the mark of my affection, in employing me to write what the most impartial historians say of Jesus, the son of Mary, the Christian Messiah.

That holy prophet was honoured by his very enemies.

Josephus, a learned Jew, who lived in his time, and wrote the history of that nation, makes worthy mention of him.

So did many of the Gentile philosophers, though they opposed his disciples and followers. Porphyry, whom the Christians commonly repute as a bitter enemy to their profession, yet calls Jesus wise, blessed, and divine. That sage was exasperated against a certain sect of Nazarenes in his time, whom they called Gnostics: These corrupted the doctrines of Plato, and the theology of the ancients, wantonly mixing human fables with divine truths. Against these Porphyry sharpened his pen, and, not making a difference between them and other Christians, drew upon himself the ill-will of them all: Yet he retained a profound attachment for the Messiah.

Wouldst thou know the circumstances of this holy prophet's birth? They were glorious, even in obscurity; for, though his father and mother were then upon the road to Jerusalem, strangers at Bethlehem, and forced for want of room in the caravancera to lodge in a stable with an ox and an ass, where the Messiah was born, and laid in a manger; yet, in this contemptible state, there came some of the magi out of Persia and Chaldea, who brought presents to the holy infant; and having laid at his feet gold, myrrh, and incense, they prostrated themselves on the ground, and praised God, the Most High King of all, in that he had honoured them with a sight of the Messiah.

This was in the 43d year of the reign of Augustus Cæsar the Roman emperor, at which time one Herod was president of Judea. This man being informed that certain noble strangers were come out of the east to Je-

rusalem, he sent for them, and inquiring the occasion of so tedious a journey, they gave him this answer :

“ Peace be to thee, O Sultan ! There was of old time a prophet of great fame in our nation, who, among other predictions that have since come to pass, left also this in writing :

“ That in Palestine should be born a child of heavenly race, who should rule over the greatest part of the world, and by this sign ye shall know the time and place of his birth : A strange star shall appear in the firmament, which shall direct you to the very house where you may find him. When, therefore, ye shall behold this star, take gold, myrrh, and incense, and following the conduct of the star, go and offer these gifts to the young child ; then return immediately to your own country, lest some grievous calamity befall you.

“ Now, this star has appeared to us, we are come to perform what was commanded us.”

Herod said to them, “ Ye have done well. Go, therefore, and seek diligently for the infant ; and when ye have found him, come and tell me, that I may go and pay him homage also.”

But they never returned to him again ; wherefore Herod in his anger and jealousy commanded all the infants in Bethlehem to be strangled, that had not been born above four-and-twenty moons. But the father and the mother of the Holy Infant fled away with him into the land where it never rains, the same night that the magi came.

What I here relate to thee, sage Bedredin, is taken out of approved historians ; for many among the Gentiles wrote of these things besides the Christians.

There was a Roman philosopher much about the same time, a man in great esteem with Cæsar, to whom he



wrote a letter, wherein he mentions the coming of the magi after this manner: "Certain oriental Persians (says he) have set foot within the limits of thy empire, bringing presents fit only for kings, to a certain child, newly born in the country of the Jews; but who this infant is, or whose son, we are yet ignorant."

Thou seest, O pious dervise, that the Messias appeared with no small lustre, even in his cradle; and in his early years he entered into the temple, and disputed with the Hebrew rabbis, convincing them of an universal defection from the primitive law of Moses, declaring himself the Messias, and yet in profound humility acknowledging, That a prophet should come after him, who should be preferred before him, the dust of whose feet he was not worthy to kiss. This passage the Christians have perverted to another sense; but the true faithful know it was spoken only of Mahomet, the seal of the prophets.

The time would fail me, to recount all the stupendous actions of this man's life; and, in calling him man, I imitate his own example, since throughout the gospel he never called himself God, or the son of God, as the Christians do, but most frequently gave himself the title of the Son of Man. He turned water into wine, fed five thousand people with five cakes and two small tenches, healed all diseases, restored sight to them that were born blind, raised the dead, went invisibly through crowds of his enemies, and, finally, was taken up into paradise.

If thou wouldst know more of this holy prophet, there are historians who say he was initiated in the mysteries of the Essenes, a certain sect among the Jews.

That nation, it seems, was then divided into seven classes, among which this of the Essenes was none of the least considerable, as being the most religious observers of the law: Their conversation was full of humanity,

both among themselves and toward strangers; avoiding pleasures as enemies to the mind, and esteeming chastity the very cement of all virtues: therefore they despised marriage, as an entanglement to men devoted to contemplation. They had also an equal contempt for riches: No man of this sect called any thing his own, though it were his lawful inheritance, but their possessions were in common, and equally distributed.

It was among their mysteries, to anoint their bodies frequently with oil, and as often to wash them with running water. They neither bought nor sold, nor frequented the public places, but every one communicated freely such things as he possessed, to him that stood in need. Thus there was a reciprocal exchange of kindnesses and assistance, according to every one's faculty and power. They were very assiduous in watching, fasting, and prayer, curious in observing the various names of the angels, which they frequently repeated, invoking those happy beings as the ministers of the King Eternal: And those who were exercised in this kind of religious life, arrived to so great a constancy of mind, that neither racks, fire, sword, or any other tortures, could ever move them to renounce their law, or speak the least word in contempt of their institution; nay, they would rather suffer martyrdom, than be prevailed on to taste of any thing that had life in it; for they were strict observers of the law, which commands perpetual abstinence from the flesh of animals.

It was an established article of their faith, that as soon as the union of soul and body was dissolved by death, the former by a natural inclination ascends to the skies, even as sparks fly upward, when freed from the gross earthly matter in which they lay imprisoned.

I have here given thee a short and true character of

the Essenes, of which sect all Christians own the Messiah to be a favourer, if not a member, in regard he nowhere is recorded to have upbraided them, as he often did the Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, and the rest.

Time will not permit me to say more at present concerning that venerable prophet; but, if thou wouldst have a perfect idea of all his virtues and sanctity of life, turn thy eyes inward, and fix them on thyself, for thou art a lively transcript of the holy Jesus.

Paris, 1st of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1654.

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## II.—*To the Venerable MUFTI.*

THOU hast heard of the Jesuits, an order of Nazarene dervises: All Europe abounds with them; and they have attempted to settle themselves at the Sublime Porte, and several places of Asia, besides their actual possessions in the Indies, where they are very numerous and powerful. They are esteemed the richest order of the Roman church, though the constitutions of their founder oblige them to perpetual poverty. But what will not the sacred hunger of gold tempt men to? For the sake of this charming metal, they can dispense with antiquated laws and dull melancholy vows.

These religious persons have lately spread about a letter in print, which they pretend comes from one of their order in Armenia.

This dispatch relates a strange accident that has happened at the sepulchre of our holy prophet (upon whom rest the favours of the Eternal); for it affirms, that in the eighth moon of the last year, the shrine which contains the body of that heavenly missioner, fell from the roof of the sacred mosque, to which they say it adhered by virtue of

a magnet fastened in the centre of the arch; and that at the same time the pavement of the temple opened, and swallowed up that venerable ark, wherein were repositied the most holy relicks in the world; and that from the chasm there issued out a flame like that of sulphur, accompanied with such a smoke and intolerable stench, as caused all the pilgrims that were present to swoon away; whereupon many of them are since turned Christians.

This forgery is believed here by those who never examine any thing their priests tell them, but take all on trust. The common people bless themselves in that they were born of Christian parents, and not of the disciples of that wicked impostor; so they blaspheme the man, in whom the promises of their Messias are verified, when he said, He would intercede with God to send a prophet who should lead them into all truth.

They would never be at the pains or cost to examine whether the foundation of this story be true or false. All the mussulmans who have been at that holy of holies know, that the body of our divine lawgiver reposes in a sepulchre, built after the same manner as the tombs of our august emperors, and other dormitories of the great; only with this difference, that it surpasses all the monuments of the world in the invaluable richness of its ornaments, the gifts of devout mussulman princes. There appears always such an insupportable lustre of gold and precious stones, in every angle of that mysterious recess, as may well dazzle the eyes of mortal spectators, since the angels themselves are forced to be veiled within those majestic walls.

Hence it is not hard to suppose, that the circular refractions of such a glittering orb of jewels might create the resemblance of a tomb suspended in the air, or cleaving.

to the roof of that glorious edifice, deceiving the eyes of some ignorant, but devout muffulmans; from whom this magnetic fable firft took its origin. However it be, no man of common faith, or but ordinary fenfe, will believe, that God, who has for fo many ages protected the fe-pulchre of his apottle and favourite, verifying therein the prophecy of Mahomet himfelf, who foretold, as did other prophets before him, That the place of his reft fhould be glorious, and that the greateft monarchs of the earth fhould vifit it: I fay, no man will believe that God would at length fuffer fo vile a difgrace to happen to the tomb of his meffenger, the refuge of finners.

But the Nazarenes will believe any thing, fave the truth: They are given up to a fpirit of delufion and error, incapable of light and inftruction.

Thus I leave them till the day of alarm, and the hour of scrutiny, when the angels of the test fhall enter the graves, and, having made experiment of every man's works and faith, fhall give the juft a register of their virtues in their right hand, but to the wicked, in their left hand, a black record of their fins.

In the mean time, I prostrate myfelf before thee, begging, that when thou turneft thy face to the houfe of Ibrahim, and the tomb of the prophet, thou wilt fend up one ejaculation for Mahmut, that he may perfevere in fhunning the errors of the infidels.

Paris, 19th of the 1ft Moon, of the Year 1654.

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### III.—To CARA HALI, *Phyfician to the Grand Signior.*

SINCE what I wrote laft in behalf of the brute animals is fo acceptable to thee, I will comply with thy request in continuing that difcourfe.



It is certain the ancients had another opinion of the beasts than these French philosophers, who deny them the use of reason. Socrates used to swear by the animal generations, and so did Rhadamanthus before him : The Egyptians formed the images of their gods in the similitude of beasts, or birds, or fishes : So the Grecians fixed the horns of a ram on the head of Jupiter's statue, and those of a bull on the image of Bacchus : They compounded the image of Pan of a man and a goat ; painted the Muses and Graces with wings ; and the poet Pindar makes all the gods winged, and disguises them in the shapes of several beasts, when in his hymns he introduces them chased by Tryphon. Thou knowest also, that our holy doctors affirm the angel Gabriel to have wings, with one of which he once gave a mark to the moon.

When the poets bring in Jupiter courting Pasiphae, he appears in the form of a bull ; and in his other amours, if we may believe them, he changed himself sometimes into a swan, then into an eagle : They report also, that he was suckled by a goat.

For these, and other reasons, the ancients not only forbore to injure their fellow-animals, but entertained them with singular affection and friendship. A dove was the darling of Semiramis ; a dog was the joy of Cyrus ; Philip King of Macedon made a swan his companion ; and our holy lawgiver was often wont to sport himself with a cat : He loved this creature for its cleanliness and activity, and therefore we musسلمans generally have a cat in great esteem and veneration.

That favourite of God understood the language of beasts, and conversed as familiarly with them as with men : So it is famed of Melampus, and Tiresias of old, as also of Apollonius Tyanæus, who affirmed to his friend sitting by him, that a sparrow, which he heard

chirping to his fellows, told them of an ass which he had seen fall down with his load a little way off from that place. It is also recorded of a boy, who understood all the voices of birds, and by that means could foretell things to come, that his mother, by pouring urine into his ears when he was asleep, deprived him of this incomparable gift, for fear he should be taken from her, and presented to the king. There is no question, but several nations have a certain knowledge of the speech of some animals: My countrymen, by a peculiar gift bestowed on our fathers and their posterity for ever, understand the language of crows and eagles; and the ancients were so well versed in this knowledge, that when they conversed with the birds, or at least when they heard them in their language utter presages of what should shortly happen on earth, they persuaded themselves that those birds were the messengers of the gods: Therefore the eagle was supposed to be the messenger of Jupiter, the crow and hawk of Apollo, the stork of Juno, the owl of Minerva, and so of others.

It is evident that our common huntsmen understand the different voices of their dogs, when at a distance they signify by one kind of cry, that they are questing after the hare; by another, that they have found her; by a third, that they have taken her, or that she is turned to the right hand, or to the left. So those, who look after cattle, know by the voice of the bull when he is hungry, thirsty, or weary, or when he is stung with lust; so by the roaring of the lion, the howling of wolves, the bleating of sheep, men are made sensible of the various wants, inclinations, and passions of those creatures.

Nor are these animals ignorant of our language, but by our voices or words they know when we are angry or pleased, when we call them to us, or drive them from

us ; and our domestic animals obey accordingly, with as much promptness and alacrity as a man or maid-servant ; all which could not be, if they were not endowed with faculties conformable to ours. They also teach their young ones to sing artificially : In a litter of dogs, huntsmen choose the best by this experiment ; they take all the whelps from the bitch, and carry them to some place a little distant ; then they observe which she first carries back again, and those always prove the best dogs. What is this distinguishing faculty in the bitch but reason, or something like it ?

We see apparently, that every living creature knows its own weakness or strength, and knows how to use most dexterously those weapons with which nature has furnished it for its own defence. They are also sensible what places are most convenient for them to dwell in, and which not. Thus the weakest creatures, as dogs and cats, live altogether in houses and cities with men ; whilst the lions, tygers, and such fierce animals, dwell in the desert : Thus sparrows and swallows make themselves almost domestic with men ; whilst eagles, hawks, vultures, and other birds of prey, build their nests in woods or rocks, remote from human society. Some birds change their habitations at certain seasons of the year, as best suits with their convenience ; others always remain in the same place. The same is observed in fishes ; and in all living creatures it is easy to trace the footsteps of prudence and forecast, in order to their own preservation. Let men call this what they please, instinct, or nature, or sense, it is evident, that there is an exact conformity and resemblance between these faculties in brutes, and what we call reason, wisdom, or prudence in men : And we have no more ground to conclude them void of reason, because they do not enjoy it in that perfection as

ourselves, than we have to conclude ourselves blind or deaf, because we see not so clearly, and hear not so readily as the brutes ; and that we have no legs, because we run not so swift as some of them do.

Doubtless the brutes are endowed with a faculty of reason as well as we ; but this faculty in them is weak and imperfect, for want of discipline and art, which polish all things. This is manifest from those creatures which are taught to dance and play a thousand tricks, to tell money, to shoot off guns, to find out hidden things, and bring them some miles to their master, as well educated spaniels will do. What can be a greater argument of the proficiency they make in reason and knowledge ? Are not elephants taught all the arts of war, and placed in the very front of the battle ? Do not the Indian princes repose as much trust in their carriage and conduct, as in the service of their stoutest and wisest commanders ? This creature is as tractable and prompt to learn any thing when young, as a boy at school, which cannot be done without the use of reason.

To conclude ; I have omitted five hundred arguments, which might be brought to prove the brute animals to have souls as well as we, to have faculties and affections conformable to ours ; and therefore it is little less injustice to kill and eat them, because they cannot speak and converse with us, than it would be for a cannibal to murder and devour thee or me, because we understood not his language, nor he ours.

God, who locketh up the winds, during the time the halcyon hatcheth her young, thereby showing that this bird is his favourite, will assuredly grant us a perpetual tranquillity, if we abstain from injuring our fellow-animals.

Paris, 22d of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1654.

IV.—*To MUSTAPHA, Berber Aga, at the Seraglio.*

THOU hast formerly heard me speak of the Duke of Lorraine, and his several losses, which most people thought would have ended with the excommunication pronounced against him by the Roman musti, whereof I gave thee intelligence : But experience teaches us, that misfortunes seldom set upon any man singly, but assault him in troops whom fate has marked out for ruin. Yet this prince owes his sufferings chiefly to his own inconstancy, whilst he has all along played fast and loose with the kings of France and Spain, taking up arms by successive turns for one, and at the same time underhand practising with the other, always unfaithful to both, and only driving on an independent interest of his own.

This is his true character ; to which we may add, an ungovernable disposition, and an insatiable thirst of money, which has prompted him, by all the methods of rapine and violence, to heap up an incredible treasure of gold and jewels ; so that having procured the enmity of several monarchs, the jealousy of his last master the King of Spain, the ill will of his own brother (whom they call Duke Francis), and the curses of all people wherever his army has been quartered, he is at length seized and imprisoned by Archduke Leopold, in the castle of Antwerp ; for which joyful news the inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands every where made bonfires for joy. He was confined on the 25th of the last moon ; and soon after his second wife was taken into custody, that by her means they may discover his papers and money ; this latter being the chief thing they aim at, he being reputed prodigiously rich, and the Spanish coffers want a supply. They connived at his robberies, whilst there was any thing left for him to plunder, and that they saw



he hoarded up ; but now he has done his work, they punish him for the crimes which they themselves encouraged, that so they may become masters of his wealth. It is said he brooked his restraint very well at first ; but a while ago, being denied the liberty of the castle walls, he grew raving mad, flung a candlestick (which was all the weapons they allowed him) at the governor's head, and broke the windows of his lodgings ; so that they have been forced to confine him to a hole, without any light, save a little that finds admittance through an iron grate at the top of the room.

His brother Francis of Lorrain is to command the army in his stead, who pretends great fidelity to the House of Austria, yet may in the issue prove as wavering as his brother ; for the King of France has baits would tempt the virtue of an angel. Yet nothing shall ever corrupt the integrity of Mahmut the mussulman, on whose forehead fate has engraven this motto, Prepared to suffer.

I blush, serene Aga, when I think I am so barren of virtues, that I have nothing else to boast of but my loyalty ; whilst thousands of illustrious souls, crowned with a circle of merits, daily ascend to paradise ; and though they made but an obscure figure on earth, even as contemptible as the exiled Arabian in his hutch at Paris, yet now take their seats among the hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets, favourites of the Eternal.

Mayest thou increase that happy number, but not till thou hast had thy fill of bliss on earth ; and that all thy enjoyments here seem like the perfumes of ointments, which, though they please for a time, yet at length cloy the sense.

Paris, 22<sup>d</sup> of the 3<sup>d</sup> Moon, of the Year 1654.

V.—*To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.*

Do not suspect me of partiality, or that I am fond of making proselytes, because I take such pains to restore thee to reason, and make thee sensible thou art a man. I have no design or self-interest in doing thee this good office, and it is remote from my humour to busy myself in gaining converts; only the love of truth sets my pen at work in this manner, being ever of the mind, that a free disquisition, in matters either of religion or philosophy, is the only way to get quit of errors. Perhaps my case may be the same as thine; and, for ought thou knowest, I seek not more to undeceive thee, than to satisfy myself, by thus frankly venting my thoughts; since nothing is more commonly observed, than that whilst a man is teaching another, he improves himself. Our memories are frail and treacherous, and we think many excellent things, which, for want of making a deep impression, we can never recover afterwards; in vain we hunt for the straggling idea, and rummage all the solitudes and retirements of our soul, for a lost thought, which has left no track or footstep behind it; the swift offspring of the mind is gone; it is dead as soon as born, nay, often proves abortive in the moment it was conceived. The only way therefore to retain our thoughts, is, to fasten them in words, and chain them in writing. This is one cause that I trouble thee with letters of this nature, that, whilst I am instructing thee, I may establish my own reason, and confirm myself in the method I have taken, to live according to my nature; that is, by not suffering my rational faculties to fall asleep, whilst my passions are active and vigorous in working my ruin; for I reckon no greater shame or misfortune can befall a

man, than to be deprived of his humanity, that is, his reason.

What I have said concerning the perfidiousness of our memories, may serve as a proper introduction to the objections I shall make against your traditionary laws.

If one ask you, Why these laws were not written as well as the other? you answer, That God took care in this, lest the Gentiles getting copies of them, should corrupt and pervert their sense, even as they have done the written laws. But how then came he to suffer any to be written? Had he not equal care of one part as of the other? or, could the Gentiles do more harm, by altering and corrupting the less substantial traditions, than the very fundamental statutes? for that these unwritten laws contained only circumstantial, your doctors themselves confess. What man of common sense then can sit down contented with so trivial an answer? Or will you say, that God took more care to preserve these traditions incorrupt from the Gentiles, than to retain them in their purity among the Jews? for that committing them to writing had been the surest way to retain them in their original purity, is evident by the preservation of the written law, of which there was so great care taken in transcribing it, that if but a letter or a point were added, diminished, or misplaced, they took it for a fatal omen of some calamity, and the faulty scribes were severely punished, nay, the whole congregation were bound to expiate the offence by fasting, prayers, and alms; so that it was in a manner impossible, that, with all this circumspection, the least corruption or alteration should creep into the written law.

I appeal now to thine own reason, whether this was not a much securer way of preserving the laws incorrupt, than by trusting them to the fickle memories of men.

Besides, I would fain know what became of these traditions during the various captivities of the Jews, and depopulations of the Holy Land? Who took care to deliver these traditions unaltered to posterity, when they were without priests, prophets, or synagogues, when they were dispersed over the remote provinces of Media, Persia, Egypt, and Babylon? In those days, your fathers were slaves to the Gentile kings of Asia; there were then no seniors sitting in the Sanhedrim, who might take care of these things; neither do I find, that Esdras the scribe was any ways concerned for these traditions, when he, with his brethren the Jews, returned from their long captivity in Persia and Babylon. All his most strenuous endeavours were employed in recovering the lost books of the written law, without so much as regarding or mentioning the other; from whence I gather, that either these traditions were of no great importance, or, if they were, yet they were wholly, or for the most part, changed or lost many hundreds of years before the Talmud was first composed, which thou sayest is the grand repository of these sacred instructions. And in saying so, thou contradicest thy own arguments; for if these traditions were appointed to be transmitted by word of mouth from father to son to all generations, as you suppose, then what need was there of writing them in the Talmud, or any other book? And yet the writings of your rabbis are full of them. Thus thou confoundest thyself, and runnest blindfold round in a circle of absurdities.

Rouse up therefore thy reason, and suffer not thyself to be hoodwinked by the fables of your rabbis, those industrious midwives of old womens tales. Doubtless those traditions, about which you make such a bustle, are no other than the whimsies of your cabalists, who pretend

to spy more mysteries in the order of two or three Hebrew letters or points, than they are able to unfold in whole volumes : They crack their brains in conjuring up far-fetched interpretations, from the particular fashion and placing of one single dash of a pen ; they puzzle and amuse their disciples with teaching them more knotty and romantic divinity out of the four-and-twenty letters, than ever Pythagoras did with all his mystic numbers ; the alphabet to them is the oracle of theology ; they have turned the law into a perfect riddle.

Believe not, therefore, these religious mountebanks, those holy jugglers, who with their sanctified legerdemain would turn you into apes, that they may laugh in secret at your folly ; while they behold how precisely devout you are in cringing, jumping, dancing, howling, braying, and all your other antick postures and actions in the synagogue ; in the practice of which you have bestowed so much care, and are so exact, that you quite neglect the weighty points of the law.

I hope what I have said is sufficient to convince thee, that those traditions, which you are taught to believe were delivered to Moses in the Mount of God, are no other than the impositions of your blind guides, who are studious of nothing more, than to entangle you in a perpetual labyrinth of superstition and error.

It will not be a greater difficulty to demonstrate, that the written law itself, though divine in its original, is not of universal obligation to all people, but only calculated for your particular nation, and such as were willing to enter into your interests, among the nations adjacent to the Holy Land.

And because my time hastens me, I will only suggest one argument for all, and leave it to thy deliberation ; Whether it was possible for all mankind to repair once a



year to Jerusalem, to sacrifice in Solomon's Temple, as is required in your law? For that it was not lawful to sacrifice any where else is evident, both from the law itself, which expressly forbids it, and from the example of your fathers in their several captivities, and from your own practice at this day, who have made no sacrifice since the days of Titus Vespasian, the Roman emperor, who laid waste your city, and burnt your temple to ashes.

And this may also serve to convince thee, that the law of Moses was not of perpetual obligation, even to the Jews themselves; since it is evident from matters of fact, that, for these sixteen hundred years, you have not been in a capacity to keep it; and, doubtless, God would never require any thing of men, which he foresaw they would not be able to perform.

Cease then to think so highly of thy nation, as if none but they were the elect of God, or capable of his favours; cease to insult over the rest of mankind, and to curse thy brethren, the sons of one father, even Noah, the just man and prophet of God. Behold the sun and moon, with all the constellations in Heaven; their influences are equally dispersed to all of human race. Behold the elements; they serve all the sons of Adam alike; they are not partial to mortals, neither does any faction bias the winds and rain. These happen all at their appointed time and place; and the four seasons of the year return with even courses to the inhabitants of the four quarters of the world. The plants know no difference between the circumcised and the uncircumcised, but yield their increase with equal indifference to the one and the other; and the brute animals equally acknowledge both for their lords: The birds of the air are as soon caught by a Heathen, Christian, or Mahometan fowler, as by one that is a Jew; and the fish of the sea,

when they swallow the hook, or plunge themselves into the net, regard not the difference of religion in those that catch them. All things happen to every man according to their nature and the pleasure of destiny; only man himself transgresses the condition of his being. But those that obey the Eternal Lawgiver, let them be of what nation or religion soever, doubtless they live happily, and die in peace.

However, lest men should err for want of knowledge, a light is sprung forth in the East, even the book of glory, which confirms the written law, and instructs men in the truth. Doubtless, this book was brought down from Heaven; it carries its own evidence, and a testimony of its divine original, in the majesty of the style; there is a spirit and energy in every word, sublimating the intellect of the devout reader, and purifying his affections; it is written in Arabic, in a dialect so pure and perfect, that the most accurate critics can find no blemish from the beginning to the end; one part coheres exactly with the other; it is void of contradiction: All the chapters in this glorious volume are of a piece; which excellencies could not have thus met together without a miracle, in a book divulged by a man who could neither write nor read.

The success it has had in the world speaks it of celestial descent. The greatest part of Asia and Africa, with many kingdoms in Europe, have obeyed the Alcoran for above these thousand years. Could such a thing come to pass, without the decree of Heaven? When the prophet and favourite of God first received his divine commission, he was like a pelican in the wilderness, solitary, and without companion; nevertheless, he was not discouraged, but obeyed the orders of Heaven: He saw himself in the midst of rocks and sands, encompassed on

all sides with terrible beasts ; yet he despaired not of assistance from above, but comforted himself in the promise of the Eternal : He first preached to the savage lions and tygers, who, as if they had heard another Orpheus, grew tame and sociable at his powerful words ; those fierce inhabitants of the woods came and prostrated themselves before the Sent of God ; they licked his feet, in token of submission ; they environed the place of his repose, as his guards, and brought him food morning and evening. The prophet wondered that so great grace was given to the beasts of the earth ; he praised the Creator of all things, and his mouth was full of benedictions ; he blessed the day and the night, and the obscurity that comes between them ; he blessed the dews that fall at the rising of the odoriferous star, and the refreshing winds that stir the leaves of the trees at midnight ; and in the morning, he prayed that all men might become true believers. Doubtless, God had granted his petition, had not the angel, who carried up his prayers to Heaven, met with the devil, a little on this side the orb of the moon, who stole from him some of Mahomet's words, that so the prayer ascended imperfect to the throne of the Merciful. Nevertheless, a great part of men became believers, and more shall be added to the number.

In a little time, the solitary prophet saw himself at the head of a numerous army, all volunteers, who resorted to him in the wilderness, as they were inspired from above. The mighty men of Arabia opposed the sacred hero ; they led the flower of the East against him ; but they accelerated their own fate, and incensed their angry stars. The elements took up arms against them, and the meteors fought in defence of the messenger of God. Lightning and hail, with stones of fire, blasted the troops

of the infidels ; and terrible storms of wind buried whole armies in the sands. Thus the host of the mussulmans became victorious, without drawing a sword, and the empires of the wicked fell to the possession of true believers. Persia, Babylon and Egypt were subdued, and embraced the undefiled truth ; the Alcoran was received from India to the Mauritanian shore. From the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, this holy profession is made with one consent, " There is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet."

Now, Nathan, consider whether ever the law of Moses had such footing in the world, or the children of Israel could boast of such universal conquests : Your little kingdom has had its period long ago ; and both that, and all the empires of Asia and Afric, are swallowed up in the all-conquering monarchy of the Osmons. Your tabernacle, temple, city, and sacrifices, are quite extinct ; your nation is scattered over the whole world, without lands or possessions that they can call their own ; neither is there prince, priest, or prophet, to whom you can have recourse for delivery from your misfortunes.

Come out therefore from the synagogue, which lies under the scourge of Heaven ; shake off the malediction, and, being purified, join thyself to the true believers, who are blessed in this world, and shall be happy in paradise ; or at least stand by thyself, and follow thy own light. Adieu.

Paris, 22d of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1654.

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VI.—To DICHEU HUSSEIN, *Bassa*.

THE policies of Cardinal Mazarini are no secrets at the imperial city. Now he is about to play his masterpiece :

He has all along maintained pensioners in the service of the French grandees; no man of prime quality could be sure he entertained not at his table some creature of this minister; disguises of all sorts, both for body and mind, were never wanting to men dexterous to treachery; and officious to do mischief.

But now he is setting spies of another character on the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility of France: Women are to become his private agents; females of his own blood, true Italians, and brought up under his particular care and management; in a word, his sisters and nieces.

Five of them are newly come to this city, having been conducted hither by the cardinal's secretary, accompanied with a considerable retinue of courtiers, who went to meet them some leagues from Paris. It is said that one of those ladies is a great beauty, and that the young king, having seen her picture, fell in love with her.

This is certain, the Prince of Conti has married one of them, with whom the cardinal has given his palace, and two hundred thousand crowns in dowry.

They talk as if another of them was to be married to the Duke of Candale, and a third to the son of General Harcourt. And, as if Mazarini were emulous of Joseph's character and authority in Pharaoh's court, he has sent for his father also, with all his family, to come and reside in France. He is resolved to stock this kingdom with Sicilian blood, a race of Mazarins, who by instinct, as well as by rules, shall carry on the design he has laid, and either raise this tottering state to the height of his model, or absolutely ruin it; for that active spirit cannot take up with mediums.

It is said that the Duke of Orleans resents very ill the cardinal's ambition, in marrying his nieces into the blood



royal. That prince will not be prevailed on to come near the court, but rather favours the Prince of Conde, and the other malcontents; whence some people are apt to preface another turn of affairs before long, for the generality of the French are inclined to the prince's party.

There is great caballing all over the kingdom, and the cardinal strives to push his interest forward by all the methods of a cunning statesman. He knows the Prince of Conde's spirit too well to dream of a reconciliation, and he has a double interest in the ruin of that unfortunate general; his own preservation, and the aggrandizing his niece, the Princess of Conti, who, by the fall of her brother-in-law, will be mistress of his estate.

He is endeavouring also to make an alliance with the Cardinal de Retz, his professed enemy, and one raised by the pope to that dignity, on purpose to counterbalance Mazarini's power at this court, where he is suspected to animate the king against the court of Rome.

That Cardinal de Retz is now a prisoner of state, and has been so a long time, being first confined by Mazarini's orders; but the wise minister now thinks it safer to compound with a man, whom he cannot longer persecute without drawing on himself the revenge of all the ecclesiastics, and especially the thunder of the Roman Court.

Therefore, to reconcile matters, and fortify himself, he has proposed a match between his nephew and De Retz's niece. The Court is wholly taken up with making friendships of this nature, which is an evident sign they feel their power at an ebb, and fear it will be much lower, if the Prince of Conde should once take the field in France.

It is nothing to the musliman interest which side gets

the advantage, for they are all equally enemies to the Sent of God.

If I can by any successful artifice promote the divisions of these infidels, I shall not disserve the shining Porte. However, I will still pray that those swords may be turned against each other, which united would hazard the state of the true faithful.

Illustrious friend, let thy presence in the divan be as a strong bastion, under the covert of which Mahmut may be sheltered from the artillery of evil tongues and sycophants.

Paris, 14th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1654.

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#### VII.—To D<sup>G</sup>NET OGLOU.

THOU art not ignorant, that when I first heard of the cruel sentence executed on our late friend Egri Boinou (on whom be the mercies of the Creator), I wrote to his successor Ismael Mouta Faraca a letter of condolence, wherein, to keep a medium between the tenderness I owed to the loss which my friend had sustained of his eyes, and the distrust I had of a stranger, I filled up my letter to Ismael with consolatory expressions, such as I would have used to Egri himself, had I been in his company; believing that Ismael would read my letter to his blind predecessor.

I played the Stoic, and encouraged the doctrine of apathy, or at least I abounded in philosophical counsels, almost as impracticable as the other: Nothing but severe morality dropped from my pen; and all this to cover my real concern and passion for Egri's sufferings, who, thou knowest, was beloved by more than thee and me. I told thee in a former letter, that I did not dare to trust

my sentiments, though disguised, to a man, who on the score of his new preferment, might become more quick-sighted than before, and would soon penetrate the thin veil of words, and spy something in that dispatch to my disadvantage, should I have ventured to descant on the sultan's severity, or Egri's merits.

Therefore I thought it best to pretend an indifferency, to which I am as much a stranger as any man in cases that too nearly touch our sense. It is easy to give counsel to another, which in the same circumstances we are far from practising ourselves: Then we can be full of wisdom and grave morals, but when it once comes home, all our philosophy vanishes; there remains nothing to be seen, but a mere sensitive animal, without virtue or patience.

My own experience, but two days ago, forces this confession from me, when, by an unlucky blow, I lost the sight of both my eyes for the space of eight-and-forty hours. It is true I should not have used them much during a third part of that time, had they not been hurt; unless thou wilt say they are serviceable in our dreams, and help our souls to spy the dark chimeras of the night. However, I remember it was no small grief, even in that absence of the sun, to be only sensible of the privation by my ears; for, whilst the windows of my soul were shut, it was in vain for those of my chamber to be open; which, before this misfortune, would, by letting in the light of the moon or stars, have convinced me that it was night, without being beholden to the clocks and bells of the convents for my intelligence, as I was under this affliction.

Then it was that in my heart I unsaid all that I had written to the eunuch on the subject of blindness, and cursed the philosopher for a fool or a madman who put

out his own eyes for the sake of his thoughts. I envied those more happy fools, who are without thoughts, but enjoy their sight, which helps to form and regulate the conceits of the most wise and thinking men.

Nay, such was my passion and melancholy, during this short eclipse of my eyes, that I preferred to mine even the life of those dumb animals, whom men have learned to call irrational, because they express their sentiments by inarticulate sounds, a dialect which we do not understand; and I could have almost wished myself metamorphosed, though it were into a dog, provided I might have but that sense, the want of which renders our humanity imperfect, and a burden to itself; or, if thou wilt blame me for such a wish, I cannot forbear thinking that dog happier than his master, whom I have seen leading a blind man in a string along the streets of Paris: How prudently did that faithful creature act the guide, in crossing the way, if any danger threatened his charge, as a cart, coach, or throng of people; and all this conduct was owing to his eyes, which made him wiser than his master, who, had he enjoyed this sense, might not, for aught I know, have surpassed his kind brute in the exercise of reason.

And now I am fallen on this subject of the wisdom of brutes, I must not forget a story which I have read in Plutarch, as also in a certain French author, of a dog in the court of the Roman emperor Vespasian, which would act to the life all the agonies and symptoms of death, at the command of a mountebank, who had taught him many such comical tricks to divert the grandees of Rome.

The same Frenchman mentions certain oxen, which it seems had learned arithmetic; for being employed in turning the wheel of a well an hundred times every day,

when they had finished that task, would not stir a step more, but having revolved that number in their minds, desisted of their own accord, nor could any violence compel them to farther labour. Who will deny now that these oxen were mathematicians? or that the ship dog had any need to study Euclid's Elements, who, having a great desire to taste of some oil that he saw in a deep earthen vessel, and not being able to put his head in far enough, by reason of the long strait neck of the pot, after some study, ran to the hold of the ship, which was ballasted with gravel-stones; from thence he brought in his mouth, at several times, as many of those little stones, as, half filling the pot, forced the oil up to the mouth, so that he could lap his bellyful? Of this Plutarch says he was an eye-witness. Was not this, thinkest thou, an Archimedes among the dogs? Are not the goats of Candy absolute physicians, when, being wounded, they never cease ranging the plants of that fertile island, till they have found the herb dittany, with which they restore themselves to health?

Should the French read these lines, and those others I have written on this subject to Cara Hali, and the great Mahummed of the desert, they would censure me as an heretic, a fool, or a madman; or at least they would conclude, I am too importunate an advocate for the beasts: They would call me brute myself, and fix my pedigree among some of the dumb generations.

But thou who hast been educated in the serener principles of the East, and hast had the honour to pour water on the hands of the abstemious Eremit, wilt have another opinion of what I say in defence of our kindred animals.

He that has given wisdom and language to the pismires, and instructed them to converse together by mute



signs, so that when the signal was given, the alarm was taken throughout their humble territories, and they all fled away with their bag and baggage, when the army of Solomon approached, inspire us with grace to understand the language of the beasts, or at least not to think ourselves wiser than them who understand ours.

Paris, 14th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1654.

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VIII.—*To AFIS, Bassa.*

THIS court is wholly taken up at present with the preparations that are making to crown the young king. The place designed for that ceremony is a city called Rheims. It is said the Duke of Orleans will not be there, though the king has summoned all the princes and nobility to attend at his inauguration, according to the ancient custom: But that prince stomachs the great sway Cardinal Mazarini bears at court; besides, his daughter, who has no small power over him, is affected to the party of malcontents: It is through her persuasion the Duke her father absents himself from the king his nephew; yet there are those that say his mind will change before the time appointed for the coronation, and that he will rather dissemble his grudge, that so he may more advantageously ruin the cardinal, who keeps the king lulled in a circle of pleasures agreeable to his youth, that so he may not have time or inclination to pry into his management of affairs.

The court is at present at Fountainbleau, a house of pleasure belonging to the king: They pass their time away in delights, drowned in security; whilst the wakeful princes of the blood are plotting new methods to rouse them from their lethargy, and teach the young

monarch, that the sound of the trumpet and beat of the drum, will in a short time be a more necessary music than the soft airs of the lute, and such chamber-melody.

In the mean time, the Prince of Conde being condemned, the princess his wife, has petitioned the parliament, that her dowry may be secured to her; but they have referred the matter to the king. Her husband seems to be lost in all respects, save those of the people's affections, who favour any that are enemies to Cardinal Mazarini.

Monsieur Broussel, one of the counsellors of parliament, whose imprisonment I formerly mentioned to be the cause of the first sedition at Paris, is newly dead; yet the cause, whereof he was a patriot, dies not with him, but rather takes fresh vigour from daily grounds of discontent.

It was more particularly revived upon the death of the late Archbishop of Paris, the clergy choosing for his successor the Cardinal de Retz, a prisoner of state, and under the severe displeasure of the king. This election was countermanded by a declaration from the council royal; nevertheless the ecclesiastics persist in their first choice, whilst Cardinal Mazarini threatens them with the punishments due to those who contemn the king's authority; but they slight his menaces, trusting to the arms of the Prince of Conde, which they hope will deliver them in time from the oppressions of that great minister.

The men of ability cabal, whilst the vulgar are easily drawn into parties, as their affections bias them. Here is nothing but murmuring and whispering against the government; every man endeavours to purchase arms, and lay them up privately, as against some public invasion; nay, the citizens walk not abroad without daggers hid under their garments, as if they either intended a mas-

facie, or were afraid of one. All things seem to portend some sudden eruption of popular fury, and the wisest know not what will be the issue of so many threatening occurrences.

Only Mahmut, surrounded with infidels, is resigned to destiny, knowing that no human counsel can hasten or retard the decrees signed above.

Paris, 17th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1654.

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IX.—*To MURAT, Bassa.*

IT seems the devils have been lately let loose in these western parts, if we may give credit to the deposition of such as have accused certain supposed witches.

In Bretagne, a province of this kingdom, above forty old women have been seized and imprisoned, for holding correspondence with infernal powers, and above half of them condemned to death; God knows with what justice.

Some of them are accused of enchanting the persons of their neighbours; others for bewitching their cattle; and a third sort for dissolving the mischievous charms of the first and second; all of them for assembling in the night-time, and using certain diabolical ceremonies, which, they say, begin and end in kissing the posteriors of a goat, or the devil in that form.

I know not how far these poor superannuated figures of mortality may be wronged: It is a question whether their judges are always in the right; a shrivelled meagre face, a hollow eye, joined with irrecoverable poverty, are many times the chief grounds of suspicion, which, improved by superstition, mistakes, and malice, have often prevailed on those who ought to administer justice, to con-

demn poor wretches, more innocent than themselves, as guilty of witchcraft.

Yet it cannot be denied but that there have been both men and women versed in magical arts, as they are commonly called, which I take to be only the more mysterious science of nature. Such was Zoroaster, the great-grandchild of Noah, and king of that part of Asia, which was then called Bactria; such was Apollonius Tyanaeus, Philistides, Syracusanus, with many others of ancient date. These understood the hidden force of the elements, the influence of the stars, the specific operation of metals, minerals, and other subterranean bodies, with the virtues of all vegetables; they knew exactly how to frame astral images and talismans, by the help of which they were able to effect wonders; and all this perhaps without once dreaming of infernal spirits, or having the least society with devils.

Yet I believe Lucian, an ancient writer, who never spoke seriously of any thing, scarce believed himself when he related the story of Pancrates, a famous magician of Egypt, who by these talismans was able to transform inanimate things into the appearance at least of living creatures: Thus he would turn a stick or piece of wood into a seeming man, who should walk, discourse, and perform all the actions of a rational being.

A certain stranger travelling with him once to Memphis, and lying with him in the same caravansera, as soon as they were alighted from their camels, Pancrates took a plank of oak, and having touched it with his talisman, and pronounced two or three syllables, incontinently the stock moved, stood upright, walked, and, taking the camels by the bridle, led them to the stables; after which this wooden man came in and prepared their pilaw, went on whatsoever errands Pancrates sent him, and when they

departed, the magician, using a certain private ceremony, this officious servant returned to a plank again. This was his practice all along the road.

One day his fellow-traveller being resolved to try the experiment, took the advantage of the magician's absence, who was gone to the temple, and had left his talisman behind him. The curious traveller, having been often an eye-witness of this trick, takes a piece of wood, and touches it with Pancrates's talisman, repeating the syllables he had heard him utter. Immediately the inanimate timber became a man, asking his pleasure. The traveller, astonished at the event, commanded his new servant to bring him a bucket of water. The enchanted spark obeys. The traveller told him it was enough, and bid him return to a piece of wood again; but, instead of that, he continued drawing of water, and bringing it in till the house was full. The traveller, fearing the anger of Pancrates, thought to dissolve the enchantment, by cleaving the wooden animal in two: But this augmented his trouble; for each piece, taking a bucket, fell to drawing of water, so that of one servant he had made two. This continued till the magician came to his rescue, who, having sternly rebuked the traveller's rashness, at a word turned the two busy drudges to their primitive loggishness and inactivity again.

I do not tell this story, as if I would have thee believe it, or that I give credit to it myself: Let us imitate the author of it, who laughs at all that delight in such fables. But the Christians, who believe a piece of bread is transformed to flesh and blood, and becomes an immortal God at the pronouncing of four words by the priest, may be excused, if they put confidence in the figments of poets and orators.

I have in my custody the journal of Carcoa, who for-



merly resided at Vienna, a private agent for the ever happy Porte. Some of his letters speak of the superstition and credulity of the Germans in this kind : Yet in a letter to the mufti, he acknowledges himself overcome by the unquestionable testimonies of such as had been eye-witnesses of the life and death of one Faustus, a German magician, who played a thousand infernal pranks (as he calls them) even before the emperor himself.

He tells also of another magician, called Zyto, who lived in the days of the emperor Charles IV. ; and when the emperor's son, to whom Zyto belonged, was to marry the Duke of Bavaria's daughter, the duke, to oblige his son-in-law, who was much taken with magical tricks, as were all the Germans, sent for a great many famous forcerers to the wedding. Among the rest, while one was performing a rare exploit, on a sudden Zyto, the prince's conjuror, came up to him, with a mouth seeming as wide as that of an old crocodile, and swallows him up at a morsel. When he had thus done, he retires and voids him again in a bath, and brings him thus drenched into the company, challenging any of the other magicians to do a feat like that ; but they were all silent.

I hear of no such tricks done by those French witches who cause so much discourse at present. The worst they are accused of, is bewitching their neighbours hogs to madness, which thou knowest may be only a natural malady.

I pray Heaven defend us from the enchantments of a deluded fancy, that domestic *incubus* of every mortal, and we need fear neither witch nor wizard.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1654.

X.—To CHORNEZAN MUSTAPHA, *Bassa*.

THE fame of Christina, Queen of Sweden, has no doubt reached thy ears ; I have made mention of her in several of my letters. That royal virgin is now about to surrender her crown to her cousin, whom they call Charles Prince Palatine. This is a voluntary resignation ; and her motive is said to be a strong inclination to solitude and a private life, being esteemed the most accomplished and learned princess of this age. But those who pretend to know more than others, say, that the true ground of her abandoning the kingdom, is a resolution she has taken to change her religion, and embrace the faith of the Roman musti, which is forbidden by the laws of Sweden.

Thou wilt smile at the proposals which this queen sent to her designed successor, and his answer to them.

“ In the *first* place, She will keep the greatest part of the kingdom and revenues in her own hands.

“ *Secondly*, She will be no subject, but altogether independent and free.

“ *Thirdly*, She will be at liberty to travel into foreign countries, or into any part of that dominion.

“ *Lastly*, She will not have the offices of trust, or any other gifts that she shall have disposed of to her favourites, revoked by her successor.”

To these articles Prince Charles answered,

“ *First*, That he will not be a mere titular king, without dominions, nor without such a revenue as is necessary to defray the royal expences both in peace and war.

“ *Secondly*, That he will suffer no competitor, equal, or sovereign in his kingdom.

“ *Thirdly*, That he will not run the hazard of her intrigues in foreign courts.

“ *Lastly*, That if he be king, he will dispose of preferments as he thinks fit ; and, in fine, that he will not be the shadow of a king, without the substantial prerogatives of sovereignty.”

It is added, that when the queen heard his reply, she said aloud, “ I proposed these articles only to try his spirit : Now I esteem him worthy to reign, who so well understands the incommunicable rights of a monarch.”

This intelligence comes by a secretary to the Spanish ambassador, who is newly come out of Sweden to negotiate at this court a ten years truce between France and Spain.

Here is likewise an ambassador from Portugal, who acquaints the court, that the Portuguese have expelled the Hollanders out of the places they held in the East Indies : But if our merchants bring true intelligence, the Tartars will exterminate all the Franks that are in China.

In the mean time, the young King of France passes away his hours in dancing, seeing of plays, and other recreations, provided with vast expence by Cardinal Mazarini, to divert him from meddling with public affairs, and from thinking too seriously on the sentence he has pronounced in parliament against the Prince of Conde.

One knows not well how to blame the Prince of Conde's proceedings, nor yet to accuse the king of injustice ; neither is it proper for a musfulman slave to decide the controversy. Our principles and laws are different from theirs ; and he that is esteemed a patriot here in the West, would be condemned for a rebel, without hesitation, in any part of the East, where but one God in heaven, and one sovereign on earth, is acknowledged by the subjects of every kingdom and empire.

But in France the princes of the royal blood are invested with such a power, as renders it difficult for those

under their command to distinguish them from supreme monarchs ; yet not one of them possesses a government equal to that of the Bassa of Egypt, or superior to his of Aleppo.

I have spoken of these princes formerly in some of my letters to the happy ministers of him, who, when he pleases, can make the greatest sovereigns the squires of his stirrup.

And therefore it will be needless to say any more on that subject, but only to acquaint thee, that the French court, though they cannot relent of the rigour they have used towards the Prince of Conde, yet seem willing to compound the business with his son, the young Duke of Enguien, and by a subtle artifice to strike two strokes for the state at once. A great duke of this realm has been lately dispatched to the Duke of Orleans, to propose a match between his daughter and Conde's heir ; whereby the estate of the Prince of Conde will fall to the Duke of Orleans's possession, during the minority of the young couple. This is a wheedle to reconcile the king's uncle to the court, who has been a long time estranged ; but it is thought his displeasure is of too deep a dye to be washed off with court holy water.

I have no more news to tell thee, save the death of a certain prince, whom they call the Duke of Elbeuf ; and it is of no import to the divan, whether an hundred of these infidel princes die every day or no, so long as the Grand Signior lives, and is ever supplied with faithful ministers.

For his health I pray before the sun peeps over the tops of the Eastern mountains, and after he hides himself in the valleys of the West ; neither do I rise from my knees at the five appointed hours, without an orison for Chornezan, and the other bassas of the Porte.

Paris, 10th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1654.

XI.—To SALE TIRCHENI EMIN, *Superintendent of the Royal Arsenal at Constantinople.*

THOU that hast the charge of the ammunition designed for the conquest of the world, art fittest to receive the news of a terrible blow lately given to a city of the infidels in Flanders.

This place is called Gravelines, whereof I have made mention in some of my former letters. On the 29th of the last moon, the powder of the magazine there took fire, whether by accident or design is not certainly known; but the damage it has done is very great. It is reported, that a third part of the city is blown up, and the chief fortifications about it, with the outworks of the citadel; three thousand mortals had their breath exhausted by the violent convulsion of the air, and were sent into another world, well seasoned with saltpetre; besides a vast multitude of all sorts that were buried in the ruins of the houses.

Some say, a certain person coming to buy some powder of the steward of the magazine, as they were knocking out the head of a powder barrel, the hammer struck fire; others report, that this person, who pretended to buy powder, was a spy or private agent of Cardinal Mazarini in those parts; and that, by his master's order, he had prepared a certain artificial fire, inclosed in a shell or box, and that, at a certain determined period of time, it would cause the box to fly in pieces, and scatter flames almost as subtle and penetrating as those of lightning.

Having therefore this little instrument of mischief ready, and being instructed in all things, he with the steward entered the vaults where the powder lay, under pretence of buying some for the governor of Brussels; and when they had opened one of the barrels, he thrust



his hand among the powder, as though he would take up some to look upon, at the same time dexterously conveying his little shell or box into the barrel, knowing that in an hour's time it would work its effect. In the mean while, seeming to dislike that barrel, they opened another, which he bought, and so departed. Within an hour afterwards, all the countries round about were astonished at the dreadful blow, which made the earth to tremble; they say it was heard beyond the seas into England.

Thus the contrivance of this tragedy is fastened on Mazarini; and such is the hatred the people bear to this minister, that if an earthquake should happen in these parts, I believe they would accuse him as the author of it.

But it seems as if all the elements were at war against the Netherland provinces. I have already acquainted the ministers of the ever happy Porte, what disasters befall these people by storms at sea, and inundations on land; after which the element of fire took its turn to chastise them; for, in the first moon of this year, a certain windmill in the Low Countries, whirling round with extraordinary violence, by reason of a furious storm, the stone at length, by its rapid motion, became so intensely hot as to fire the mill; from whence the flames, being dispersed by the high winds to the neighbouring houses, set a whole town on fire.

And now the wrath of Heaven has been kindled again to destroy these infidels; yet those that survive will not be converted. Perhaps they will be ruined piece-meal, even to a final extermination, like the people of Aod and Thamod, of whom at this day there remain no footsteps.

I pray God guard the imperial city and arsenal from all casualties of fire, from inundations of water, and from

earthquakes ; and thy own watchful care and prudence will defend the magazines in thy custody from the sly attempts of traitors and villains.

Paris, 10th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1654.

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XII.—*To MEHEMET, an Eunuch in the Scraglio.*

I ACQUAINTED thee formerly with the first necessity I had to drink wine, that I might the better conceal my being a mussulman, when I was made a prisoner by Cardinal Mazarini's order. I tell thee now, this liquor is grown habitual to me, it being the natural beverage of the country where I am: But the French temper it with water, the better to allay their thirst, and prevent fevers; which custom agrees not with the stomach of a Mahometan, who, when he drinks either water or wine, loves to have them pure without mixture. I use it moderately for my health, and to create an appetite: But this evening I drank a glass of wine, which is like to make me abhor it for ever. In all probability I shall turn as strict and precise as an Hodgja; for, in the midst of my draught, I had almost swallowed a great spider, which lay drowned in the wine. The little beast had passed my lips, but I soon cleared my mouth of so ungrateful a morsel. I wish I could as easily discharge my imagination of the hated ideas it has imbibed with this fatal potion: Not that I think I am poisoned, or have received any real damage from the spider; the worst venom lies in my own fancy. It will be impossible for all the water in France to wash away the prejudices I have conceived against this little insect; I have a perfect antipathy against it: The sight of a spider would always make me sweat and tremble. Now, if ever I should taste of wine

again, I should imagine every mouthful I swallowed had a spider in it. My reason tells me there is no danger if I had one in my stomach, having seen a physician, without the use of any antidote, swallow two or three large spiders in a glass of wine; and this was his ordinary practice every morning; and most of that profession maintain, that spiders, so drunk, can do no harm; yet my antipathy overcomes my reason in this point; and if Galen or Hippocrates were alive, they would not be able, with all their learned demonstrations, to reconcile me to a creature for which I have an invincible aversion and abhorrence. I had rather encounter with a lion or a tyger in the desarts of Arabia, provided I had but a sword in my hand, than to have a spider crawling about me in the dark; and therefore I have often envied the happiness of the Irishmen, for in that island they say no venomous creature will live: The same is reported of the Isle of Malta, which wonderful privilege both these islands ascribe to the prayers of certain saints.

There is no reason to be given for these secret antipathies, which are discovered in many men. Some will sweat and faint away, if there be a cat in the room where they are, though they know nothing of it any otherwise than by the secret intimations of this unaccountable sense, which nature has added to their other five. I have seen a gentleman drop down in a swoon, as soon as he entered a chamber where there was a squirrel kept in a cage; and those that knew him said it was his constant infirmity.

If there be any truth in the doctrine of the soul's transmigration, I should think the best reasons for these private antipathies might be drawn from some former state of the soul; and according to that supposition, I should conclude, that I had been a fly before I came into

this body, and having been frequently persecuted by spiders in that state, do still retain the dread of my old enemy, which all the circumstances of my present metamorphosis are not able to efface. But if this be so, I wonder I should have no distinct remembrance of my former little volatile life, since Pythagoras, the great patron of the metempsychosis, declares, that he could remember several changes he had undergone ; and particularly recounts, how he led a merrier life when he was a frog, than since he became a philosopher.

It affords me matter of thought, and is no small diversion, to behold the contrariety that is in men's diet : One man never tastes of fish all his days, another abhors flesh ; this faints if his bread be cut with a knife that has touched cheese, that swoons at the smell of mutton. Men have as different appetites as they have faces ; some are squeamish, and almost nauseate every thing that others eat freely of ; again, there are others to whom nothing comes amiss. For my part, I have many aversions in point of diet ; and, above all things, I can never be reconciled to the eating of insects, serpents, and other reptile creatures ; yet here are men in this kingdom who live upon frogs, vipers, grasshoppers, and such kind of loathsome animals ; and I have read of a people in the southern parts of Africa, who had no other diet but salted locusts, which they catch in the spring, when certain winds bring innumerable swarms of them over the land, so that all the country is covered. These people are very lean, active, and black ; they run swift as stags, and will climb trees, and jump from one bough and tree to another, as nimble as apes or squirrels ; but they are short-lived, never exceeding forty years of age ; for about that time they feel a violent itching all over their bodies, which tempting them to scratch themselves, they never cease till they

make holes in their flesh, where certain winged insects breed, which multiply so fast, that in a little time they devour the poor wretches. This is thought to be the result of their ill diet.

Let not what I have said create any squeamishness in thee, but eat thy pilaw with a good stomach, for that food has the benediction of God and his Prophet.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1654.

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### XIII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE King of France has been solemnly crowned at Rheims, where were present his mother and brother, Cardinal Mazarini, with divers princes and nobles, and foreign ministers : But nothing could persuade the king's uncle, the Duke of Orleans, to grace this ceremony with his presence ; he has declared he will never come to the court so long as Cardinal Mazarini is there.

Mareschal Turenne has received private orders to repair speedily to his army in Flanders. What the design is we are not certain. Some say he is gone to surprise Gravelines, a city in Flanders, which was lately so ruined by the blowing up of the magazine, that it is not in a condition to resist the French, should they assault it.

Others say, the king has commanded his general to lay siege to Stenay, a city belonging to the Prince of Conde, a place of great strength, and exquisitely fortified.

It is reported that Cardinal Mazarini holds a correspondence with the governor of this strong hold, and that on this ground it was he promised the king, on the honour of his purple, that, if he would suffer his army to



lie down before it, it should by such a day be delivered into his hands.

The Duke of Lorraine, of whose imprisonment at Antwerp I informed Mustapha Berber Aga, is now removed from thence, and sent to Spain, from whence it is believed he will never come back.

From the North the post brings news of the resignation which Christina, Queen of Sweden, has made of her crown to her cousin Prince Charles. They add, that she caused a crown to be made with this inscription, "From God and Christina," and that she placed this crown on the prince's head with her own hands, having before absolved all her subjects from their oaths of fidelity to her.

The same post also tells us of a mighty army of Muscovites which are entered into Poland, destroying and laying desolate wherever they come. The pretended cause of this invasion is said to be a disgust the czar has taken at a certain historian and poet of Poland, who, in reciting the wars between those nations, had made a mistake in the genealogy of the Muscovite emperors, naming the father for the son. The czar, being informed of this, demanded the head of the writer as an atonement, which being denied, he rushed into the territories of Poland, to revenge himself by fire and sword.

These are the actions of such as pretend to follow the example of Jesus, the Messiah, who commanded men to forgive injuries, even as did our holy Prophet; yet they scruple not to accuse us of what they themselves are only guilty. Thus, whilst they are Christians in name, we show by our practice that we are true disciples of the venerable Jesus.

Doubtless all men are just or wicked by nature. Every man's fate is engraven on his forehead, and neither the precepts nor examples of Jesus or Mahomet can alter the

inclinations of those whose stars have signed them in their nativity with the indelible characters of vice.

Paris, 30th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1654.

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#### XIV.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

HITHERTO I have been in a wilderness, or at least I will suppose it, wandering up and down, lost and confounded in the dark, without sun, star, land-mark, or any faithful guide to direct me. What shall I do in this case? I am tired with perpetual rambling, and rest I dare not, neither can I, such is my uneasiness, even in the only circumstance which gives to other men repose.

Thus I discourse with myself when I am alone, and consider my present state as a mortal. The miseries of this life are the themes of my first contemplation, and it is but reason it should be so, because we feel them every moment: They touch our sense nearly, and afflict us with sharp pains; yet they are but like the sting of a wasp, violent for a time, but last not long.

This thought carries me farther, and puts me upon an endless meditation what will befall me after I am dead. When I have contemplated all that I can, run over a thousands paths of fancy, and traced all the footsteps of the wise, or of such as were esteemed so, still I find myself in a desert, more entangled than a traveller lost in the forest of Hyrcania, which extends from the most northerly part of Muscovy to some provinces in the German empire, and is reputed five hundred leagues in length.

In this bewildered condition I meet with many pretended guides, one telling me this is the way, another that; but because they do not agree in their advice, I know not which to trust, and am inclined to suspect some

for cheats, and the rest for fools, as much at a loss, if not more than myself.

Permit me to discourse with freedom, my dear Dgnet, and let us unmask like friends. What signifies all that the imaums and mollahs can say of paradise and hell, since none of them have been there to make an experiment? Why should we suffer ourselves to be amused with notions of things, which, for aught we know, have no other existence but in the harangues of the preachers, and the fancies of the credulous.

Think not that I am going to persuade thee to the heresy of the Muferin, who deny the being of a God. I tell thee I am no atheist. From every thing I behold, my thought soon flies up to a First Cause, and there it is dashed into a thousand queries. This I lay as a solid foundation, "All things were not always in the same state as they are now." My experience demonstrates to the contrary. But how much longer they have been otherwise than my own remembrance, I cannot be assured, but by the confidence which I repose in people that are older than myself, and the faith I give to books, both which agree in this, that they are guilty of contradictions without number.

Those that were born before me, and lived in the days of Sultan Mahomet III. tell me many passages of his reign, quite different from the relations of others who also lived in those times, and remarked the transactions of their age.

A like disagreement I find among authors who have committed to writing the histories of former times. It is difficult to encounter with two men of the same opinion, even as to matters of fact. Some take a pride in disguising the truth, whilst others have not skill to take off the mask. There are a sort of persons in the world,

men of supine and easy judgments, credulous, and not daring to call in question what has been transmitted to them from the authority of such and such a writer. They superstitiously revere as an oracle the manuscripts of a mortal man like themselves, subject to as many frailties and mistakes, and all this only because they have been taught to do so from their infancy ; so forcible is the influence of education. Thus the Hebrews believe the records of their nation to be of divine original, though they want not verbal contradictions, and abound with logical and philosophical inconsistencies. But that which is of greatest moment is, that neither they nor any other nation, no not even the Assyrian or Egyptian records, come near the immense chronologies of the Chinese and Indians ; so that, amidst such vast variety of accounts, a man knows not where to fix his belief. But whether the world be only five or six thousand years old, or of a more indefinite antiquity, this is a sure maxim, " That something is eternal." Even the Jews and Christians, who deny the eternity of matter, and assert the creation of the world out of Nothing, in a determined period of time, must of necessity own, there was an eternal and infinite emptiness or vacuity, which is the same as Moses calls by the name of Nothing ; which will sound as harsh in philosophy as the eternity of matter does in their divinity. Nay, if I mistake not, it is of a worse consequence, even in the doctrines of religion, to assert an infinite privation, or want of existence, to be co-eternal with the substantial God, who is omnipotent, living, and strong, than to affirm matter itself to be co-eternal with him, since this is an actual substance, and may with reason be supposed as a necessary emanation of his power and goodness ; whereas the other is a mere naked potentiality, a non-entity, as the western philosophers call it, and therefore cannot be

conceived to flow from the divine nature, which is essential life and being. Yet in these nice and remote speculations I am timorous, and dare not be positive, lest I should profane the honour of that Sovereignly Good, who is the breath of our nostrils. To speak the truth, I am wavering in all things but this, that there is an Eternal Mind, every where present, the root and basis of all things visible and invisible, whom we call Alla, the Support of Infinite Ages, the Rock and Stay of the Universe.

Let thou and I, dear friend, persevere in adoring that superlative Essence of Essences with internal and profound devotion ; let our thoughts be pure, our words few, and those full of innocent and grateful flames ; for assuredly God delights not in the babbling of the tongue.

As for the rest, let us live according to our nature and reason, as we are men ; for we may believe, that the indulgent Father of all things will accept us, if we square our actions according to this rule, without aiming at the perfection of angels.

In a word, let us love all of human race, and show justice and mercy to the brutes ; for, in so doing, we shall not be unkind to ourselves.

Paris, 13th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1654.





